



Daily Report

East Europe

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CONTENTS

28 May 1992

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

INTER-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Lisbon Talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina Continue	2
SDA Supports Negotiations [Sarajevo Radio]	2
National Salvation Government Discussed [TANJUG]	2
Talks 'Discontinued' [TANJUG]	2
Cutileiro on Muslim Protest [Lisbon Radio]	3

ALBANIA

Kosovar Prime Minister Bukoshi Arrives in Tirana [Tirana Radio]	4
Briefs Berisha on Election Results [ATA]	4
Berisha Issues Law on Amendments to Enterprises [ATA]	4
High Court of Justice Rules on Appointments [ATA]	4
People's Assembly Concludes Approval of Gun Law [Tirana Radio]	4
Bank Director Discusses Pay Suspension Decision [RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE 13 May]	5
Basic Foodstuffs Appear on Black Market [ALTERNATIVA SD 15 May]	5

BULGARIA

Appointments Made in Judiciary, Prosecution Service [BTA]	7
Saxony-Anhalt Minister-President Pays Visit [BTA]	7

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel, Major Sign Joint Declaration [Prague Radio]	8
Major Cautions Slovaks on Independence [Prague Radio]	8
U.S., British Firms Offer To Destroy Weapons [SVOBODNE SLOVO 21 May]	9
Cernogursky Sums Up Government's Past Activity [Bratislava Radio]	9
Press Reacts to Havel's StB Disclosure [CSTK]	9
Commission Investigating Invasion Clears Dubcek [CSTK]	9
Press Denounces Bundestag Treaty Resolution [LIDOVE NOVINY 21 May, etc.]	10
HZDS Criticizes Selection of Envoy to U.S. [RUDE PRAVO 21 May]	11
Communists To Nominate Vacek for President [MLADA FRONTA DNES 26 May]	11

HUNGARY

Antall Seeks Ruling on President's Authority [MTI]	12
Parliament To Discuss Draft [MTI]	12
Antall Interviewed on Elections, Programs [Budapest TV]	12
Finance Minister Kupa Views Budget Deficit [MAGYAR HIRLAP 25 May]	14
Socialist Party Chairman Discusses Policies [NEPSZABADSAG 15 May]	16
Governing Coalition Statement Criticizes Goncz [MTI]	17
Kajdi Discusses Decree on Radio, Television [MTI]	17
Statement on Media Reporting of Government Issues [MTI]	17
Applications for Radio, TV Programs Reported [Budapest Radio]	18
Poll Shows Widespread Public Dissatisfaction [Budapest Radio]	18
Latest Unemployment Figures Published [NEPSZABADSAG 20 Apr]	18
Jeszzenszky Addresses Foreign Affairs Committee [MTI]	19
Jeszzenszky Urges Closer Relations With PRC [Budapest Radio]	19

Parliament To Monitor Yugoslav Events Closely [Budapest Radio]	20
Jeszenszky Statement on Trade With Croatia [Budapest TV]	21
Air Transport Agreement Signed With Slovenia [MTI]	21

POLAND

Coalition Proposes Sejm Vote on Government [PAP]	22
Walesa Not To Press for No Confidence Vote [Warsaw Radio]	22
Olszewski Refuses To Submit Resignation Motion [Warsaw Radio]	22
Government Asks Sejm to Resolve Conflict [PAP]	22
Moczulski Sets Conditions for Joining Government [PAP]	23
Claims Olszewski Accepts Conditions [PAP]	23
Government Rebukes Charges Against Skubiszewski [PAP]	24
Skubiszewski Article Discusses Changes in Europe [LE MONDE 22 May]	24
Sejm Committee Demands Changes in EC Treaty [PAP]	25
Polish-Brandenburg Cooperation Intensifying [PAP]	25
Russia Rejects Environmental Damage Protocol [Warsaw TV]	25
U.S., World Bank Housing Credits Approved [PAP]	26
Interior Ministry Begins 'Purge' of Ex-Communists [GLOB 24 20 May]	26
New TV Chief To Fend Off Political Pressure [PAP]	26

ROMANIA

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Discusses Dniester [ROMPRES]	27
Moscow's Actions on Dniester Conflict Criticized [AZI 23-25 May]	27
Senate Adopts Law on Financial Aid to Moldova [ROMPRES]	28
Danielescu Comments on World Bank, IMF Loans [ADEVRUL 14 May]	28
Cabinet Discusses Economy, Environmental Issues [ROMPRES]	29
Nastase Meets Albanian Parliamentary Delegation [ROMPRES]	30
Roman Interviewed on Results of NATO Meeting	30
Part I [AZI 20 May]	30
Part II [AZI 21 May]	31
FDSN Defends Parliament Against Opponents [ROMPRES]	31
FDSN Urges FSN To Define Election Stance [ROMPRES]	32
FDSN Meets To Prepare for National Meeting [ROMPRES]	32
Liberal Party Confirmed as Member of Alliance [ROMPRES]	32

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Sarajevo Mortar Attack Violates Cease-Fire	33
'War Hell' Described [Belgrade Radio]	33
Toll Rises to 20 Dead, 70 Injured [Zagreb Radio]	33
Presidency Demands Military Intervention [Sarajevo Radio]	33
Kozyrev Said Partly To Blame [Zagreb Radio]	34
Serb Army Denies Responsibility [TANJUG]	34
Izetbegovic Expects Muslim Withdrawal [TANJUG]	35
Muslim Party Recalls Delegation [TANJUG]	35
Izetbegovic: Peace Talks 'Possible' [Zagreb Radio]	35
Izetbegovic Urges Resistance [Sarajevo Radio]	36
Muslims Attack Yugoslav Army Convoy [TANJUG]	37
Shelling Continues Overnight [Zagreb Radio]	37
Defense Minister on Fighting, Territorial Defense [DANAS 28 Apr]	37
Bosanska Krajina Leader on Serb-Muslim Conflict [BORBA 9-10 May]	40

CROATIA

UNPROFOR 'Gradually' Taking Over Slavonia [TANJUG]	43
Sisak Officials Oppose UNPROFOR Deployment [Zagreb Radio]	43
UNPROFOR Commander Leaves For Osijek [TANJUG]	43
Official Notes UNPROFOR Deployment Problems [TANJUG]	44
UN Official Responds to Bias Charges [BORBA 18 May]	44

'Terrorist Groups' Try To Infiltrate Krajina	[TANJUG]	45
Council Statement on Situation Highlighted	[TANJUG]	45
SRK Prime Minister Zecevic Interviewed	[POLITIKA 12 May]	45
Russian Consul in Zagreb Views Crisis	[DANAS 12 May]	47
Issue of Increased Terrorist Actions Viewed	[DANAS 12 May]	49
Expert Discusses Terrorist Activities in Zagreb	[DANAS 12 May]	52
Details of Debate on Post-War Croatian Economy	[DANAS 5 May]	53
Croatian Rights Party Leader Paraga Interviewed	[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 9 May]	57
'Secrets' of 'Presidential Airplane' Viewed	[DANAS 28 Apr]	62

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Presidency 'Shocked' By 'Massacre' in Sarajevo	[TANJUG]	65
JNA 'Condemns' Attack	[TANJUG]	65
Protest Lodged With France Over Croatian Attack	[TANJUG]	65

Federal

Conditions Ready for 31 May Elections	[TANJUG]	65
Shifts in Army Leadership Analyzed	[BORBA 12 May]	66

Serbia

Foreign Minister on 'Tragic' Sarajevo Attack	[TANJUG]	67
Milosevic, French Official Discuss Crisis	[TANJUG]	68
Jovic Terms U.S. Pressure 'Crude,' 'Bestial'	[TANJUG]	68
Democratic Movement Aims, Support Viewed	[TANJUG]	68
Seselj Stresses Aim for Serbian State	[NEDELJNA BORBA 16-17 May]	69
Law on Financing of Political Parties Adopted	[POLITIKA 15 May]	70

Vojvodina

Novi Sad Group of Fighters for Krajinas Formed	[Belgrade Radio]	71
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Kosovo

Electoral Commission Announces Final Results	[ATA]	71
Death Reported as Police Surround Pec Village	[Tirana Radio]	72
Belgian Senator, Rights Campaigner Arrested	[Zagreb Radio]	72
Rights Activist Critical of 'Third Yugoslavia'	[BUJKU 5 May]	72

Montenegro

Presidency Favors Protection of Ethnic Rights	[TANJUG]	73
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Macedonia

Belgrade, Izetbegovic 'Cautioned' By Kozyrev	[TANJUG]	73
Motives for Introducing National Currency Viewed	[EKONOMSKA POLITIKA 11 May]	73

Inter-European Affairs

The Lisbon talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina were "discontinued all of a sudden," according to TANJUG. This was done at the request of the "Muslim delegation from Bosnia-Herzegovina." In a statement broadcast by Lisbon radio Portuguese Ambassador Jose Cutileiro, who is chairing the talks, said Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic "was unable to remain" in Lisbon in view of "appalling attack" in which 25 people were killed by mortar fire in Sarajevo. Cutileiro said Silajdzic had assured that "his party remained committed to the principles agreed upon with the EC," but "could not at this stage remain." Cutileiro then informed the Croatian and Serbian delegations, "at the Muslim delegation's request" that "the talks had been suspended, had ended for the moment."

Bosnia-Herzegovina

At its 27 May session, the Bosnian Presidency once again "demanded" international military intervention because of "continued brutal aggression and crimes against the innocent population," according to Zagreb radio. It was also "stressed" that "responsibility" for attacks in Sarajevo "should be partly shouldered by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his boss Yeltsin" because Kozyrev arrived with a "mandate from Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to offer a cease-fire." Meanwhile, the Party of Democratic Action's (SDA) Executive Committee has decided to recall its delegation from the Lisbon peace talks, according to TANJUG. In an interview with Sarajevo radio, SDA leader Alija Izetbegovic explained that the party walked out of the conference in protest of the "sickening attack" on Sarajevo's maternity hospital. According to him, "We have finished talks in this way." Izetbegovic added that "talks will be possible on the day that aggression and violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina are crushed."

Yugoslavia

International—The Yugoslav Presidency was "shocked by the latest crime committed against the innocent civilian population of Sarajevo," according to TANJUG. The "unprecedented massacre" could have been done "only by someone who did not want a cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina," the Presidency said. The Presidency "will do everything in its power so that the process of finding a peaceful solution...will not be interrupted."

Poland

A day after Lech Walesa declared that he was withdrawing his support for Prime Minister Jan Olszewski's government, the "small coalition" parties of the Democratic Union, the Congress of Liberal Democrats, and the Polish Economic Program "decided...to propose a vote of no confidence in the government," PAP reports. Despite his withdrawal of support, Walesa told journalists on 28 April that he himself would neither "propose" nor "exert any form of pressure for" a no confidence vote, according to Warsaw radio.

Romania

The Foreign Ministry's spokesman noted at the weekly press briefing on 27 May that "tension had risen after 14th Army units and combat equipment took up positions" in the Dniester region, according to ROMPRES. The Foreign Ministry has agreed to Russia's proposal that the quadripartite talks be held on 28-29 May in Chisinau. In response to a question on Romania's military assistance to Moldova, the spokesman termed as "untruthful and biased the information alleging that Romanian troops and combat equipment had infiltrated the area on the left bank of the Dniester."

Lisbon Talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina Continue**SDA Supports Negotiations**

AU2605145292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] stressed in a statement that it issued today on the Lisbon talks that it will support all agreements achieved through political negotiations, but it will not agree to solutions imposed by force.

The statement says that this position is being presented by the SDA delegation in Lisbon. It is also said that no conditions exist for political negotiations until there is a complete halt to violence and aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina; the artillery surrounding Sarajevo is removed; and the blockade on the airport and Mostar and all other towns is lifted, as was the blockade on transport routes. This party therefore mentions that it does not want to talk about any political solutions whatsoever under pressure of war.

If the aforementioned conditions are met, the SDA of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo is interested in political negotiations in order to achieve the right solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, this party's statement says.

National Salvation Government Discussed

LD2705141892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1254 GMT 27 May 92

[By Borislav Lalic]

[Text] Lisbon, May 27 (TANJUG)—The idea on the formation of a temporary tripartite national salvation government in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has surfaced once again. This idea is increasingly mentioned at the European Community-brokered talks on the future of Bosnia which resumed last week in Lisbon, it is learned in the Portuguese capital.

"Such a government would enable us to make on-the-spot decisions and to maintain constant contact, rather than coming to Lisbon for talks," Croatian delegation head Mate Boban said.

The head of the delegation of Bosnia Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, also said that the Serbs support this idea. "We have proposed this previously," he said and underscored that "this could be the embryo of a future government and, at this stage, also a place for making urgent decisions and agreements."

So far, the Moslems have refrained from taking any kind of stand, although it is clear that they do not support the idea as, according to them, Bosnia already has a "legitimate government" (the Serbs walked out in protest against the early recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the E.C. and the United States).

The temporary government, or National Salvation Council, would be made up of nine members with all three ethnic communities—Moslems, Serbs and

Croats—represented by three members each. The council would not have a president and all decisions would be made on the consensus principle. The council would also be able to adopt legal acts.

The temporary, parity government would, according to Boban, mark the beginning of a new Bosnian constitutive order, which is currently under consideration in Lisbon.

The Croatian delegation head said that this parity composition of power should be one of the foundations of the future constitutional order of Bosnia as a confederal state. "This is the only solution," he said.

"At this moment the territorial division of Bosnia is of utmost importance," Boban said. "We have accepted the principles on this in March and it is hardly likely that we will be able to do this by ourselves. That is why E.C. mediation and arbitration will be necessary," he said.

The current round of Lisbon talks may close on Friday, it is indicated in the Portuguese capital.

Talks 'Discontinued'

LD2805072992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0310 GMT 28 May 92

[Text] Lisbon, May 27 (TANJUG)—The Lisbon negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina's future constitutional order were discontinued all of a sudden Wednesday evening.

Jose Cutiliero, Portugal's ambassador chairing the peace conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina since early this year, has discontinued the present round of negotiations at the request of the Muslim delegation from Bosnia-Herzegovina, it having made known its going to leave the negotiations Wednesday afternoon. It justified its move like that by today's massacre in Sarajevo which took the toll of sixteen innocent people killed and the Muslim party leadership announced its going to leave as early as Wednesday morning.

The talks were going in the direction of coming to an agreement and, with a cooperative Serb delegation, all but an agreement was reached on coming to terms on reopening the Sarajevo Airport, pulling back artillery from positions around Sarajevo and setting up a corridor for humanitarian relief aid, Cutiliero explained then, adding that, true, the Muslim delegation informed him as early as this week that, short of a cease-fire in Bosnia, it would not be able to accept any agreement whatsoever on this republic's future constitutional order.

"The bloody incident in Sarajevo today also shows how much urgent and necessary is to find out a political settlement for Bosnia-Herzegovina," Cutiliero said.

"Nothing can be agreed and signed here," Irfan Ajanovic, a Muslim delegation member, told the press this morning, "the war still being on in Bosnia and the cease-fire being not respected. One cannot come to terms in an atmosphere of pressure by force."

Otherwise, the Muslims had come to the Lisbon negotiations unwillingly and several days late.

"The things have once again taken a turn for the worse," Mate Boban, the Croatian delegation head, remarked after the discontinuation. "There is going to be still more of war now," he added. "The Muslims are mistaken to leave."

The Croatian delegation proposed that a permanent place be fixed for negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that either Vienna or Geneva should be chosen.

Radovan Karadzic, the Serb delegation head at the Lisbon negotiations, also felt disappointed at the discontinuation of the negotiations.

"The Muslims were only looking for a reason to sabotage these negotiations. Obviously, they have also opted for war," Karadzic said.

In his belief, the Serb side is not to blame for the Sarajevo massacre today. The Serb side will do everything possible in order to have an agreed-on and peaceful settlement found, he added, giving such an assurance to Ambassador Cutileiro too.

Karadzic agreed about the Croatian initiative for fixing a permanent seat for negotiating and that Geneva be chosen.

Cutileiro on Muslim Protest

*LD2705231192 Lisbon RDP Comercial Radio
Network in Portuguese 2205 GMT 27 May 92*

[Statement by Ambassador Jose Cutileiro speaking at the Tivoli Hotel in Lisbon "a short while ago"—recorded]

[Text] [Studio] The Lisbon conference on constitutional arrangements for Bosnia-Herzegovina was interrupted this afternoon when the leader of the Muslim party and Bosnian foreign minister walked out in protest at the massacre caused by the shelling of Sarajevo, allegedly by Serb irregulars. Afterwards, Ambassador Jose Cutileiro, who was mediator at the talks, spoke to the media:

[Cutileiro] As you know, this morning a mortar attack occurred in Sarajevo in which, according to reports, 25 people were killed and 50 or more wounded.

For nearly a week now we have been negotiating in Lisbon along the lines of an agreed pattern which we called a dual-path pattern. On the one hand, we discussed constitutional arrangements and, on the other, we sought to improve the situation on the ground.

The Muslim delegation had informed me that, without a certain amount of peace-making [last word in English], that is to say, efforts toward peace on the ground, they would be unable to ratify any agreements reached here on constitutional arrangements. I understood their attitude and, throughout the week, I insistently asked all the parties concerned, and the Serbs in particular, to do their utmost to bring about an end to the aggressive behavior in Bosnia.

In response to a suggestion from the mediators, the head of the Serbian delegation said that he was prepared to withdraw the artillery positioned on the hills around Sarajevo under international supervision and control. In the existing circumstances, I received his assurances with a measure of hope, even though similar past undertakings to the same end were not honored. We also discussed with him the unblocking of roads and the question of the airport.

During the days we were gathered here—and up to this morning—the shelling of Sarajevo had considerably diminished, even though the fighting, the war, unfortunately continued in other parts of the country.

We had hoped that by the end of this week that we would have come to an agreement on some arrangements that might be conducive to peace, and also on some constitutional provisions. This would have had the effect of a confidence-building measure, both directly and mutually [as heard].

Early this afternoon, the head of the Muslim delegation and Bosnian foreign minister, Mr. Silajdzic, asked to talk to me personally. He informed me of this appalling attack, which we vehemently deplore, and told me he was unable to remain here. The attack came in the wake of other attacks by Serbs in different parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina of which he had informed me during the week and which I brought to the attention of the Serbian delegation and sought to verify. He told me that his government would recall him, would withdraw his mandate here, and that he personally felt unable to continue talking here after what had happened in the capital.

I asked him if he was thereby terminating the Muslim party's participation in the constitutional talks. He said no, that his party remained committed to the constitutional principles agreed upon with the EC, but that he could not at this stage remain here, until such a time as Serbian attacks would stop. And he informed me that he would be leaving before the end of the day.

I told him that I understood his feelings and attendant obligations, that I thought that this morning's attack in Sarajevo had been a horrifying event, but that at the same time the attack bore witness to the absolute need for a political solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina through negotiations. I welcomed his party's commitment to continuing to work to this end. We agreed that a political solution will ultimately be the only way to bring lasting peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that the alternative to a political solution would be an even worse and more brutal war than that already being waged in Bosnia.

I then informed the other two parties that, at the Muslim delegation's request, the talks had been suspended, had ended for the moment. The Serbian delegation repeated to me that once in Bosnia-Herzegovina they would do their utmost, all they could, to achieve peace. [end recording]

Kosovar Prime Minister Bukoshi Arrives in Tirana*AU2705184192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1330 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, prime minister of the Government of the Republic of Kosovo, arrived in Albania for a working visit today. He was met at Rinas Airport by Dr. Aleksander Meksi, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Ilir Manushi, minister of construction, housing, and property regulation; and others.

In an interview given here, Prime Minister Bukoshi said: It is difficult to describe the atmosphere of the first free multiparty elections in Kosovo. People seem to have woken up again. There is great optimism in the victory of our people and of all our parties and institutions. The psychological preparation has been important, but the most important thing is the remainder of our work, which will be very difficult. The elections showed that the Kosovo Democratic Alliance was recognized as a popular movement that expressed the aspirations of the people in Kosovo and fully deserved its truly stunning victory.

Briefs Berisha on Election Results*AU2805133392 Tirana ATA in English 0802 GMT
28 May 92*

[Text] Tirana, May 28 (ATA)—The President of the Republic Sali Berisha received the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo Bujar Bukoshi. He congratulated Mr. Bukoshi for the success of the elections in Kosovo and added that May 24 was a marked day in the history of the Albanian nation. Through them the parliament and the president elected in Kosovo were freely and democratically given the people's mandate for governing, becoming a factor of stability. We should bear in mind that through constructive dialogue and endeavors to avoid conflict, we shall attain the realization of the rights of the Albanian nation in Kosovo and the whole former Yugoslavia. We Albanians are going through difficult moments, but nevertheless it is our duty to find the way to overcome the difficulties. Albania will continue to be a factor of stability in the region, because peace and stability in the Balkans are indispensable both for us and the others. Mr. Berisha expressed his gratitude for the special attention the international community, particularly the West, devoted to these elections and added that he was confident that these elections will be recognised internationally.

After briefing him of the holding and results of the May 24 polls, Prime Minister Bukoshi pointed out that the population in Kosovo proved to be self-controlled and disciplined, not overcome by euphoria caused by the results of the elections. He thanked the Albanian state for its mature constructive attitude during the elections. We rejoice over the fact, he said, that the citizens of the Republic of Albania pursued our elections with special attention and that the Albanian mass media covered them completely.

Berisha Issues Law on Amendments to Enterprises*AU2705115192 Tirana ATA in English 0755 GMT
27 May 92*

[Text] Tirana, May 27 (ATA)—The cabinet of the president reports that the President of the Republic Sali Berisha promulgated the Law on Some Changes to the Law on the State Enterprises. What is new in this law is that, in so far as the new law is issued, the activity in the state enterprises is run and represented by the director who is nominated or released:

a—for the national enterprises by the ministry or some other central institution.

b—for the local enterprises by the district executive committees.

High Court of Justice Rules on Appointments*AU2805133192 Tirana ATA in English 0807 GMT
28 May 92*

[Text] Tirana, May 28 (ATA)—Under the direction of the President of the Republic Mr. Sali Berisha, the High Council of Justice of the Republic of Albania convened on May 26 1992. After examining the leading staff of the organs of justice, the Court, Prosecutor's Office, Investigator's Office of our country, decided:

1. The discharge from the leading posts of a part of the leaders of the justice organs as inappropriate.

2. The appointment of new leaders of the courts, prosecutor's offices, and investigation's offices.

The change of the leading cadres in the organs of justice will make more efficient the judicial power and will consolidate the new juridical democratic order and the defence of the human rights and democratic freedoms.

People's Assembly Concludes Approval of Gun Law*AU2705195192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1330 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] On 25 May the People's Assembly concluded the approval of the Gun Law. It consists of 15 articles defining what are considered weapons under this law, who has the right to issue and bear them, and who is deprived of this right. It also defines the legal responsibilities of those using licensed or unlicensed weapons, fines for violations of this law, and the persons with the right to carry weapons.

To make this law better known, we will read some of the articles that are considered most important.

Article 5: The following persons with state and party tasks have the right to be supplied with firearms by the public order organs:

a) Deputies of the People's Assembly; members of the Council of Ministers and other persons equal to them; chairmen of political parties; the chairman of the Constitutional Court; the chairman of the Appeal Court; the procurator-general, the investigator-general and their deputies; and local government chairmen (?within) their areas of local administration.

b) Judges, judicial adjudicators, procurators, and investigators in central and district bodies on application.

c) The drivers of persons mentioned under section A.

Article 7: The organs of public order may equip with firearms:

a) individual persons appointed to guard facilities defined by bylaws of the Council of Ministers.

b) guards of passenger and freight trains.

c) The Albafilm Film Studio, Albanian Radio-Television, national and district theaters, and national and district museums.

Article 14: No persons other than those defined in this law may carry weapons. Individual persons who lose the right to carry weapons are obliged to hand over their weapons to the public order organs. Individual persons who possess weapons and who hand them over within 15 days after the issue of this law are excluded from criminal responsibility. The forces of order are permitted to search persons suspected of carrying unlicensed weapons. Those guilty of carrying weapons without authorization will be arrested, tried, and sentenced. The unauthorized carrying of weapons of war is punished by between five and 15 years' imprisonment.

Article 15: Weapons of historical and cultural interest owned by museums, families, and private individuals and that are assessed to be such by a special commission, are documented in a special register, and are owned by people who may not possess ammunition for them. They may only change ownership by being given to Albanian museums or to the relevant state bodies.

Bank Director Discusses Pay Suspension Decision
AU2705192192 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE
in Albanian 13 May 92 p 1

[Interview with Ilir Hoti, general director of the State Bank, by Mehil Tanushi in Tirana; date not given: "A Temporary Suspension in Payments, Not a Suspension in Increasing Wages"]

[Text] [Tanushi] Mr. Ilir, what about the government's resolution to suspend the increase in wages?

[Hoti] This resolution does not suspend the increase in wages, it temporarily suspends payment. The government's general reform requires preliminary conditions that should be set up from the start of a monetary reform. This means reducing the flow of money that the bank sends out. We know that this was very high during the first quarter of this year. This was first caused by the decisions of the government of specialists, which resulted in a one-billion-lek increase in the money supply, and by abuses of the Law on Enterprises through offering bonuses of equal to 10 salaries for special enterprises. These reasons put the monetary and budgetary balance in a difficult position that delays the start of the reform. Judging from this, the last mission of the IMF confirmed as very fair the steps that the bank has initiated to stop this monetary hemorrhage. Thus, this decision facilitates macroeconomic solutions on one hand, and increases the bank's ability to pay in banknotes on the other.

[Tanushi] Is there any present obstacle to increasing wages, or would the bank be able to pay now?

[Hoti] There is no legal obstacle to increasing wages in the enterprises, whose positive financial results justify it. However, the bank's resources will not be able to fully meet the galloping increase in wages and pay until the end of June. This happens in every country, as presently in Germany. But what matters most is enabling the government to take another monetary overview at the end of this six-month period.

[Mehilli] What measures has the state bank taken to issue bank notes?

[Hoti] To ensure the physical supply of bank notes, the State Bank has taken these measures: First, the bank has accelerated the procedure of new bank notes abroad with new denominations of 200, 500, and 1000 leks. Some of these will arrive before the end of June and the remainder in July. Second, within 10 days the bank will issue new bank notes for 50 and 100 hard leks at the rate of one hard lek to 50 Albanian leks. The bank will make a special announcement about this on television and the daily press.

I want to make clear that the explanation given in ZERI I POPULLIT of 12 May is baseless because this decision does not suspend the increase in wages, especially for military servicemen, the forces of order, the National Intelligent Service, etc., but provides them the possibility of depositing wages in saving accounts and using them at will after 30 June.

Basic Foodstuffs Appear on Black Market
AU2605200692 Tirana ALTERNATIVA SD
in Albanian 15 May 92 p 1

[Article by Pajtim Kapaj, resident of Tirana's 37th District: "Food in and Out of the 'Basket'"]

[Text] We are living in difficult times. The economic crisis has the entire country in its grip. There are problems. We overcame the obstacle that seemed almost insuperable, the communist system that has been brought down once and for all. Other people have taken the nation's destiny into their hands. They are democrats, or at least want to be genuine democrats. However, merely voting for democracy is not enough to build it. Building democracy means first acting with justice and honesty. Today's holders of power must therefore justify the trust the people have placed in them. They must not fall prey to the "communist-Laborite" witch hunt. One problem that is becoming increasingly distressing is the distribution of the foodstuffs in the "basket" [staple goods whose prices remain frozen], many of which are in short supply.

Do we citizens obtain the foodstuffs in the basket?

We have forgotten not only the taste of macaroni, but even the word, at a time when you can find larks' tongues on the black market.

We are not getting soap. We must all sing in chorus, "Unwashed, in the 20th century..." I am no poet, but I would like the poem of the famous democrat Fan Noli, "By the Rivers," to be rewritten, this time in capital letters.

They say there is no cooking oil! All right! Let us concede this for a moment, but how can we explain the fact that the same shop that distributes the articles of the basket on the one hand says there is no oil and on the other hand sells it at 34 new leks per liter?! Where do they find this quantity of oil? Who gives it to them? It is the same with other articles. This "basket" is shrinking every day, until... it disappears. Meanwhile, there is plenty on the

black market (in fact, for those who control it, it is a "golden" market). What does the state do? When will the members of the government intervene? I am sure that they do not have and do not want these problems, but they must be reminded that the people must not be left in the hands of the speculators who are multiplying with every passing day. The pluralist councils in the city districts must do more, as officials who are closer to the people. I live in the 37th District near the Textile Combine, and it must be admitted that the council in our district has opted out entirely! There is no other explanation of why refrigerated meat, included in the basket at 19 leks, is sometimes sold for even 25 leks. This means corruption at the expense of ordinary people. At one time, it was the state that "set your teeth on edge." Is this happening intentionally or out of incompetence? Both are dangerous.

Meanwhile, the councillors of Tirana's 34th District are among the few that work. You find them at people's disposal every day, discussing grievances. They do everything affably. I cannot say that they distribute goods that otherwise do not exist, but they distribute everything that arrives. They distribute parcels for people on low incomes, regardless of their political convictions. In the 37th District, nobody knows who receives parcels.

Local government is a necessary link, regardless of how it is organized. One must be careful to ensure that it attracts hardworking people. For its part, the government must be closer to the people. Even deputies should not turn their backs on them.

Europe has its own needs, but does not realize how this basket keeps Albanians alive, and keeps them in hope. This is also an appeal we make. It is not a question of luxury, but of our daily bread.

Appointments Made in Judiciary, Prosecution Service
AU2705192092 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT
27 May 92

[Excerpts] Sofia, May 27 (BTA)—[passage omitted] Parliament adopted a weekly agenda. Two alternative projects on the Medical Academy submitted by the Council of Ministers and by a group of MP's [members of parliament] of the Socialist Party were debated today. Debates on amendments to the Pensions Act will start tomorrow. [passage omitted]

Aleksandur Novkov is the new member of the Supreme Judicial Council, Prosecutor Vladislav Slavov, spokesman for the council, announced today. Nestor Nestorov has been appointed Sofia's prosecutor. Several district prosecutors and 10 investigators have also been appointed, the spokesman said.

Petur Gogov, former warden of the death-camp in Lovech, was brought before the court today as a defendant in the trial of the killers of many inmates. He is the fourth defendant in the case. Opposition members and those disobedient to the communist regime were sent to similar camps across the country after the 1944 communist takeover. [passage omitted]

Saxony-Anhalt Minister-President Pays Visit
AU2705194792 Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT
27 May 92

[Ani Parmaksizyan report]

[Text] Sofia, May 27 (BTA)—Bulgarian Premier Filip Dimitrov and Prof. Dr. Werner Muench, minister-president of the German state of Saxony-Anhalt, signed a declaration on the further promotion of the cooperation between Bulgaria and Saxony-Anhalt. Dr. Muench is heading a delegation of Saxony-Anhalt which is on an official visit to Bulgaria.

Under the document, Bulgaria and Saxony-Anhalt will continue their cooperation in science, agriculture, tourism, education, culture and research in some fields, Mr. Muench said at a news conference. It also provides for closer economic ties between companies and chambers of industry and commerce and for promoting contacts among young people, teachers and artists.

Mr. Muench informed of the agreement reached between him and Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov for the setting up of an expert team to draft a programme for cooperation between Bulgaria and Saxony-Anhalt. Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev and Hans Juergen

Kessler, minister for federal and European affairs of Saxony-Anhalt, will be in charge of its implementation.

With the signing of this declaration we further specified and added to the Treaty for Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership in Europe signed by Bulgaria and Germany last October, Mr. Muench said, stressing the traditional friendly relations between the two countries. In his view Mr. Kessler's three visits to Bulgaria last year and the visit of Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev to Saxony-Anhalt this January helped expand cooperation between Bulgaria and Saxony-Anhalt.

Prof. Dr. Werner Muench invited Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov to the forthcoming Days of Bulgarian Economy and Culture from June 22 through 24 in Magdeburg. Prof. Dr. Muench presented a list of German companies ready to invest in Bulgaria in the field of farm machine building. According to the minister-president of Saxony-Anhalt, experts of the Privatization Agency in Berlin can render Bulgaria aid in the forthcoming process of privatization.

Today Mr. Werner Muench also met President Zhelyu Zhelev and National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov.

At his meeting with Mr. Muench President Zhelev stressed Bulgaria's wish to become a member of NATO. This issue was discussed during President Zhelev's talks with German Federal President, Dr. Richard von Weizsaecker, in Seville, according to the president's spokesman. If this happens, a bloc of three NATO-member countries—Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria, will emerge in south-eastern Europe and turn into a mainstay of stability, he announced. According to the president's spokesman, Bulgaria's role as a stabilizing factor in the Balkans is universally recognized and Germany highly appreciates Bulgaria's policy in this respect.

At his meeting with National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov, Mr. Muench expressed readiness to help Bulgaria's becoming a full member of the European Community and stressed his respect for what this country has achieved since the parliamentary elections in October last year.

X X X

A meeting was held today between Prof. Dr. Elka Konstantinova, minister of culture, and Dr. Werner Sobetzko, minister of culture and education of the State of Saxony-Anhalt. The two sides informed each other of the work of their ministries and expressed a wish to further promote the contacts. The German guest proposed to establish close contacts in the field of music and Mrs. Elka Konstantinova proposed cooperation in cultural tourism.

Havel, Major Sign Joint Declaration

LD2705173392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 27 May 92

[Report by correspondent Olga Szantova on news conference given by President Vaclav Havel and British Prime Minister John Major in Prague on 27 May, at conclusion of Major's visit to Prague; report includes recorded segments of Havel and Major remarks; Major in English with superimposed Czech translation]

[Text] [Szantova] Prime Minister John Major and President Vaclav Havel have signed a joint declaration which, among other things, confirms the nullity of the 1938 Munich agreement and stresses the determination of both states to deepen mutual relations. The signed agreement contains 14 items and focuses on issues of security and cooperation in Europe, political and economic cooperation between the two countries, and also on cooperation in the cultural and other fields.

At a news conference this afternoon, John Major subjected some of these points to a more detailed analysis. He said that he would give his backing to a further expansion of trade between Great Britain and Czechoslovakia and also to more investments by British entrepreneurs in our country; at present they are involved in 150 projects in Czechoslovakia, mostly within the framework of the British know-how fund. The prime minister voiced the hope that more will be done in the very near future. The United Kingdom government voices this resolve in one of the points of the signed declaration, which goes on to say that the government of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic confirms its resolve to create legislative, taxation and other conditions which will attract foreign investments into our country.

In the signed declaration the two representatives pledged to support contacts between the parliaments of the two countries, and between governmental and non-governmental organizations and institutions.

President Vaclav Havel summed up the importance of the British prime minister's visit by saying:

[Havel] We were very pleased to welcome Mr. Prime Minister Major. His visit to our country is in fact his first foreign visit since his victorious election. We welcomed him as a young and fresh democracy facing important elections. We welcomed him as a representative of an old and experienced democracy, which has just been through elections in which common sense prevailed. We firmly believe that democracy will win in our country, too, and that common sense as well as the gentlemanly attitude evident in Mr. Major's personality will prevail.

[Szantova] President Havel said that a great deal of attention was focused during the talks on cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the European Community. Great Britain was the first to push for the conclusion of the association agreement of this organization with our country, and now it is actively organizing our admission

as a regular member. In this connection John Major repeatedly said that the condition for our being able to exist in the Community is the ability of our economy to compete and the consolidation of our democracy.

Asked by one of the journalists whether possible constitutional changes could mean a delay in our admission to the European Community, the British prime minister said:

[Major] I am very optimistic about the future of Czechoslovakia. I think, if I were not optimistic about the future of Czechoslovakia I would not have pushed for the signing of the association agreement nor would I have pressed for her being admitted as a member of European Community. I have no doubt that a united Czechoslovakia is infinitely stronger than a divided Czechoslovakia, and I am confident that the majority of Czechs and Slovaks will share this view.

[Szantova] This morning John Major met Ministers Dienstbier and Klaus and spoke very highly of our foreign policy and our economic reform. After the news conference he called on Federal Assembly Speaker Alexander Dubcek and Czech Republic representatives Dagmar Buresova and Petr Pithart.

In line with the schedule for his stay in our country, the British prime minister is now travelling to Bratislava, where he will have talks with Federal Premier Marian Calfa and representatives of the Slovak Republic.

Major Cautions Slovaks on Independence

LD2805085792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] British Prime Minister John Major met representatives of the Slovak Republic on the evening of 27 May. Following talks with Frantisek Miklosko, speaker of the Slovak National Council, and Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky, John Major said that after becoming independent it would take much longer for Slovakia to prepare itself for entry into the European Community. Major went on to say that members of the Community would not likely welcome among themselves a state that has detached itself from its partner. If Slovakia became a Community member this would arouse concern that this was a signal to other parts of Europe which are eager to follow the same course. Slovak hosts briefed the British prime minister on the current political and economic situation and the course of the election campaign.

Major then met Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa. The British prime minister told Marian Calfa that the European Community reached the association agreement only with one economic, political, and state formation—that is with Czechoslovakia. Calfa said that should Czechoslovakia disintegrate it would be necessary to reassess this whole agreement because each section of our territory performs at a different economic level, and their chances for integration into the European Community are not equal.

U.S., British Firms Offer To Destroy Weapons

AU2705142392 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO
in Czech 21 May 92 p 1

["(tos)"]-signed report: "Destruction of Ammunition"]

[Text] Prague—The U.S. firm Olin Ordnance and the British firm Royal Ordnance are very interested in participating in the destruction of superfluous ammunition from the arsenal of the former Eastern Bloc. They have a dominant position in this field in the United States and Britain, and they also have experience, for example, in collecting [ammunition] after the Gulf War. According to data collected by these firms on our territory, 110,000 tonnes of ammunition, explosives, rocket fuel, and pyrotechnical products will have to be destroyed in a short time. Our army is unable to ensure safe and ecologically unharmed destruction, since the related costs are very high. Olin Ordnance and Royal Ordnance are proposing to find the necessary means. However, they demand that they participate a great deal in the destruction of ammunition in our country.

Carnogursky Sums Up Government's Past Activity

LD2705185292 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 27 May 92

[Excerpts] We now present a report from the Slovak Government Office compiled and delivered by Michal Tvarozek.

[Tvarozek] Thanks. The fifth final press conference with Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky concerned the Slovak Government's international activity. The prime minister recalled that eleven heads of state and 60 governmental-level delegations visited Bratislava last year. This figure did not include today's visit by John Major, who is due to arrive in Bratislava early this evening. The fact is that not only this statistic, but also the activity of cabinet members abroad, suggest that Slovakia is perceived nowadays as a member of the Central European region that must be taken into account in the forming of new international relations. Nowadays, Slovakia is located, in geopolitical terms, in the most exposed area, said Jan Carnogursky. Slovakia, he went on to say, is interested in meeting expectations and in using to the best possible degree these favorable circumstances to advance its development and its future economic and social prosperity. It is precisely the complicated nature of the political framework in which the Slovak renaissance is taking place once again that should enhance not only our feeling of responsibility for the future of Slovakia but also our coresponsibility for the successful and best possible course of the process of transformation of the newly forming relations in Europe. Our ability to deal with the problems typical for Central European countries—the issues of national minorities—will be an important component of our future. End quote. [passage omitted]

I would like to touch on one question, which is in a way linked with the elections. An Austrian journalist asked whether it was true that Prime Minister Carnogursky

had been offered a high post in the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the elections. Mr. Carnogursky confirmed this, but said at the same time that his priority lies with Slovakia. [passage omitted]

Responding to a question from a foreign journalist about the Gabčíkovo dam problem, the prime minister said that the course of action taken by the Hungarian side was not specific, because the Hungarian side was not legally entitled to abrogate the treaty, and we therefore do not consider ourselves being bound by it. The construction will continue by building the C-variant.

But I do not like to drone on too long and so here is Carnogursky's last reply to a question regarding the causes of the fragmentation of the Slovak political scene. Jan Carnogursky identified them with Slovakia's ambitions, which go beyond the framework of her political and economic scope. As for personal ambitions, this was a topic he tactfully failed to mention.

Press Reacts to Havel's StB Disclosure

AU2705131292 Prague CSTK in English 0748 GMT
25 May 92

[Excerpt] Prague May 25 (CSTK)— In a commentary on Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's disclosure on Sunday [24 May] he was registered for three months as a potential collaborator with the now-defunct Secret Police (StB), today's Czech daily LIDOVE NOVINY says: "Though the first republic did not have the current screening practice, both of its presidents had to undergo a similar procedure.... The third democratic president in the row, Vaclav Havel, has escaped 'Czech malicious narrow-mindedness'... by his avowal. Havel has done what needed to be done: He entirely challenged that part of the screening law which allows a witch-hunt of the innocent."

MLADA FRONTA DNES seeks to explain Havel's decision to "inform the public (about his registration as a potential collaborator with the StB) just now... if he must have learnt this several weeks ago." Rejecting a number of possible explanations, the paper says: "There may be one more: Dissident Vaclav Havel has done—as he did many times before November 1989 disregarding circumstances and 'tactics'—what he felt inside he must do. However, this time the candidate for presidency has interfered in the campaign shortly before the elections. However good his intentions may have been, he has improved the positions of those casting doubt on screening," the paper says. [passage omitted]

Commission Investigating Invasion Clears Dubcek

LD2705185592 Prague CSTK in English 1555 GMT
27 May 92

[Text] Prague May 27 (CSTK)—Though he signed the "Moscow Protocol" consenting to the Soviet-led Warsaw

Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, then Communist Party leader Alexander Dubcek, more than any other party official present, opposed Leonid Brezhnev's decision.

This was the conclusion reached by Antonin Bencik and Vaclav Kural, members of a Czechoslovak government commission for the analysis of events in the years 1967-70.

The two historians today told a press conference that their findings are based on the examination of materials obtained by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel during his visit to the Russian Federation in early April.

Bencik and Kural said it was necessary to publicise this information in reaction to accusations that Dubcek committed criminal actions in the years under investigation by the commission.

Last week, Petr Faltus of the Federal Police Corps requested CSTK, the Czechoslovak News Agency, for materials containing statements made at the Moscow talks by Dubcek and Frantisek Kriegel, then a member of the Presidium of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

In a letter to Vladimir Nechanicky of the Federal Prosecutor General's Office, the commission wrote that the conclusive, original version of reports on the secret negotiations of Dubcek and other party officials with Brezhnev are in the possession of the commission and not at CSTK.

Though Faltus "knows this very well", the letter says, he failed to ask the commission if their materials contained any of the information he sought.

The document in question is a transcript of the August 23, 1968 "conversation" between Dubcek and four top Soviet communist officials, which shows, according to the historians, that even in Moscow Dubcek was against the invasion.

"I cannot know what will happen, but I fear that this act, this intervention, will place the party against itself—all the more, since internal power structures did not have to be used in our country, the situation was calm and incidents were negligible", Dubcek says, according to the transcript.

"But I would not be taking the correct approach if I did not speak the truth to you, comrades: I consider what happened with the military invasion the greatest political error, and it will have tragic consequences....".

"There is nowhere you can flee from the truth, which is why I have always spoken my opinions to you truthfully", Dubcek said. "But, as we can see, that was not decisive in your invasion of Czechoslovakia".

Press Denounces Bundestag Treaty Resolution

AU2705125792

[Editorial Report] Czech newspapers on 21 and 22 May publish 400 to 600-word commentaries on the "unilateral resolution" on the Czechoslovak-German treaty that was passed by the FRG Bundestag on 20 May while ratifying the treaty. All commentaries, including commentaries by newspapers that approved of the wording of the CSFR-German treaty, are highly critical of the resolution, calling it a "bad signal" (LIDOVE NOVINY) or even a "dirty trick" (TELEGRAF).

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 21 May on page 1 carries a 400-word Adam Cerny commentary entitled "A Bad Signal." Cerny emphasizes the fact that the German Bundestag did not follow the example of the CSFR Federal Assembly, which refrained from adopting a unilateral resolution on the treaty that would contain its own interpretation of its wording. He says: "The very approval of the resolution is for Czechoslovakia beyond the limit of acceptability. One of the partners in a treaty 'on good neighborliness' took this step at a time when the opposite side has virtually no chance for an adequate response. This is politically indefensible from the German side and it is diplomatically unfair to Czechoslovakia. In view of the facts of history and the present domestic political situation, in their concessions our negotiators went to the limit of what is feasible. Given these circumstances, nothing worse could have come from the other side than this bad signal at a bad time."

Speaking about the text of the resolution itself, Cerny says: "Two paragraphs of the resolution in particular attract the attention of the Czech reader. The first states that some issues, including property issues, have not been resolved and that the Bundestag hopes for 'further progress.' In the second paragraph the deputies 'express the hope' that, even before we become a member of the EC, German citizens will be given an opportunity to settle in the CSFR." Cerny notes that these two passages will be of no practical consequence as "property will not change hands and the citizens of Germany will have the same rights here as, let us say, the citizens of Denmark."

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 May on page 14 carries a 400-word Vaclav Bervida commentary entitled "The Question Marks Have Not Disappeared." The commentator views the Bundestag resolution as a confirmation of RUDE PRAVO's earlier criticism that the Czechoslovak-German treaty leaves a number of key issues open and that its formulations permit more than one interpretation. The different interpretations of the treaty, as exemplified by the Bundestag resolution, Bervida writes, "confirm the justification of RUDE PRAVO's doubts as to whether this Czechoslovak-German treaty really represents a clear and unambiguous foundation for uncomplicated future relations." As Bervida points out, "when issues remain open, the declaration of goodwill is not enough."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 21 May on page 9 carries a 600-word Ivana Stepankova commentary entitled "A Not Too Welcome Resolution." Stepankova concedes that the "text of the resolution is more restrained than could be expected" and that it "does not commit the other side to anything." Nevertheless, she notes that "it could be regarded as a violation of the gentlemen's agreement reached by Czechoslovak and German parliamentarians at their meeting in Dresden that the two parliaments would not adopt any accompanying documents to the signed treaty."

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 22 May on page 1 carries a 400-word Vaclav Bervida commentary entitled "The Awl Is Out of the Sack." The commentator draws attention to the fact that, from the very start of preparations of the Czechoslovak-German treaty, RUDE PRAVO has been drawing attention to "open issues, including property ones" and that it has often been criticized for it by Czechoslovak officials. Bervida recalls that in April 1991, for example, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Dienstbier denied that the Sudeten Germans demand the restitution of any property they had in Czechoslovakia. In Bervida's opinion, however, it is not important that RUDE PRAVO's repeated reference to the treaty's "open issues" has been vindicated by the Bundestag resolution. "What is important," he says in conclusion, "is not who was right but what attitude toward the open issues will be assumed by Prague and Bonn and how Prague will understand and defend Czechoslovak interests."

Prague TELEGRAF in Czech on 23 May on page 3 carries a 600-word Lubos Palata commentary entitled "A Dirty Trick." Palata sees the resolution as the work of the "Sudeten German lobby" in the Bavarian CSU. He goes on to say: "Apart from seemingly very positive points, which, however, are sufficiently contained in the treaty itself, the resolution contains the 'German' interpretation of the most sensitive articles of the treaty, an interpretation that, one must add, does not even seemingly conform with how Minister Dienstbier is trying to explain these points before his opponents. The word 'expulsion' is used in the resolution clearly for the 'expulsion of Sudeten and Carpathian Germans', property claims mean property claims, and, moreover, the resolution clearly implies a threat of blocking our admission to the EC unless German ideas about our breaking with the past are realized."

"The whole thing is one dirty trick [podraz], a dirty trick with unthought-of consequences. Even a couple of weeks ago rumor had it that one of the reasons for Genscher's premature departure from the post of FRG foreign

minister was precisely his disagreement with this resolution, which is likely to cause great pre-election trouble for Jiri Dienstbier and the government parties in general. The resolution will give a boost to the left, including the extreme left. It will do a disservice to relations between our countries and add grist to the mill of those who are trying to claim that the Berlin bear does not differ all that much from the Moscow bear, under whose paw we have been suffocating for 40 years."

HZDS Criticizes Selection of Envoy to U.S.

AU2705141592 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 21 May 92 p 2

["gc"-signed report: "Movement for a Democratic Slovakia: The CSFR Should Not Be Represented by People Who Are Not Well Disposed Toward the Slovak Republic"]

[Text] Bratislava— "The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] does not share the view that the post of CSFR ambassador to the United States, being vacated by Mrs. Klimova, should be filled by 'Mr. Klima,' that is, by Michael Zantovsky, who [in his current post as presidential spokesman] has for 18 months been misinforming the foreign public about developments in the Slovak Republic and has not even once apologized." This was stated by Roman Zelenay, HZDS deputy to the Federal Assembly, at a briefing in Bratislava on 20 May.

Roman Zelenay drew attention to the fact that the HZDS would regard any nominations to ambassadorial and other diplomatic posts immediately before the elections, or after the elections, prior to the formation of a new government, as politically ill-considered, amateurish, and unsuitable. "Should, nonetheless, such nominations be made, after the elections the HZDS would not feel bound by such nominations and the diplomatic scandal provoked by the possible recalling of these people would have to be borne by the minister and the government that made them," Roman Zelenay stressed.

Communists To Nominate Vacek for President

AU2705182092 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 26 May 92 p 2

["hc"-signed report in the "Ten Days to the Elections" column]

[Text] The Left Bloc [coalition led by the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia] will not support Vaclav Havel's presidential candidacy. It will propose its own candidate, [former Defense Minister] General Miroslav Vacek, for the post. Such was the clear conclusion of the party's election rally in Plzen yesterday.

Antall Seeks Ruling on President's Authority*LD2505224492 Budapest MTI in English
1718 GMT 25 May 92*

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall today applied to the constitutional court to rule about the president of the republic's scope of authority.

Antall asked the constitutional court to decide whether the president can refuse to sign documents submitted by the prime minister on appointing and relieving officials, by this hindering the enforcement of resolutions passed by a parliamentary majority.

Parliament To Discuss Draft*LD2605130292 Budapest MTI in English 1022 GMT
26 May 92*

[Text] Budapest, May 26 (MTI)—The Hungarian parliament voted today to discuss a draft statement titled "Constitutional Practice of the President of the Republic's Scope of Authority," submitted by the governing coalition parliamentary group leaders on Monday [25 May].

Parliament put the discussion on its agenda with urgency, with 188 votes for, 109 against and 13 abstentions.

In the draft, Imre Konya (Hungarian Democratic Forum), Tibor Fuzessy (Christian Democratic People's Party) and Gyula Pasztor (leader of the 35-member faction of the split Independent Smallholders' Party) termed Goncz's refusal to honor Prime Minister Antall's request to fire the Hungarian radio president a constitutional violation.

Goncz maintains that firing the radio president would harm democracy "through violating the freedom of the press". Goncz said he would make no such move until parliament passes a media law.

The draft reads, "being seriously concerned with the president's step, which can jeopardize parliamentary democracy, parliament calls upon President Goncz to practice his scope of authority always in keeping with the constitution."

Before parliament voted to discuss the draft, several MPs [members of parliament] voiced their views.

The draft does not call the president to account either legally or politically, Konya said, speaking for the coalition leaders. "The document strengthens the state based on the rule of law, saying abiding by the law is an obligation for all," Konya said.

However under Article 31/A of the Constitution, "the person of the president of the Republic of Hungary is inviolable" and a special covers how his actions are to be judged. [sentence as received]

Alliance of Free Democrats MP Peter Hack termed the draft unconstitutional because "it is out of parliament's realm to decide about such an issue".

A dangerous precedent may be created if the governing coalition uses its parliamentary majority to pass party statements as resolutions. Also, it runs counter to the spirit of the constitution, Federation of Young Democrats faction leader Viktor Orban said.

Orban asked Konya to withdraw the draft, all the more so as Prime Minister Jozsef Antall has applied to the Constitutional Court to rule about the president of the republic's scope of authority, and it would be useful to wait for the ruling.

Christian Democratic People's Party faction leader Tibor Fuzessy said the draft is not what the opposition considers it to be. "The document does not say a word to condemn the president. Parliament has the right to take positions on important state and social issues," Fuzessy said.

Antall Interviewed on Elections, Programs*LD2505090292 Budapest MTV Television Network
in Hungarian 1725 GMT 24 May 92*

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by correspondent Istvan Palfy; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Antall] A transformation of a system and a historical turning point of an era can not be imagined without considering the legacy, on the one hand, and the processes in the world, on the other; for example, the transformation is accompanied by an international recession, because from Canada to the United States and Great Britain, one of the goals of the election campaigns is to remedy the declining economy in these countries and to accelerate the economy. At the same time in our intermediate neighborhood there is a war.

[Palfy] These are the facts. The question is, however, what is this legacy you mentioned. There are people who say that here is a country capable of functioning, but then fell into the hands of the coalition government—I should say this in quotation marks. Later on, its ability to function worsened rather than improved. Some hold this view.

[Antall] I do not like it when somebody brings the expression of political opinions into the field of political pornography and reaches such a level of shamelessness that is contrary to good taste. When we took over the reins of government, I said in parliament that the previous government passed over the country with full arms, decently, but I did not say in a magnificent condition, which is my opinion. There was a government in a crisis situation that could maintain its place because it tried to conduct this process, and the opposition of that time. We took the position that after the proposals and attempts of proposals in December, we would not

undertake a coalition government similar to the Polish and the Czech; that is, we were and we would not have been ready to enter that government. This is the big difference between our government and the governments of neighboring countries; that is, the opposition did not join the former post-communist government and implemented the transformation not jointly as a governing factor, but separately.

The foreign currency reserves of the country—I have said it many times—have dropped below \$800 million; that is, now the currency reserves of Hungary are \$4 billion higher—now Hungary can pay for imports and other goods—than it was when that government was taken over. We took over a country that had started this transformation process, but a country that was heading toward a crisis. A crisis did not occur; we assumed power because people knew that a crisis was imminent, politically and economically. So far as their proposals are concerned, we did not discard them; the clerical apparatus used them and they were remodeled. This move can only elicit praise vis-a-vis our government, in that we did not neglect the preliminary work of the experts. It was not, however, a question where the proposals had already been ingeniously prepared and we only had to implement them.

[Palfy] According to the judgment of experts, this is precisely the question in which it is said that this special Hungarian development, from a political viewpoint, leads to a new Antall regime; that is, a client-regime [kliensi-renszer] would emerge, which is generally common to dictatorships.

[Antall] Well, I do not quote with pleasure, but I say so to make my opponents happy. I say that it is so stupid and foolish that it is not even worth discussing. Here the liberty and libertinism of the press is frantic, if I can say this, where freedom of speech and everything else prevails; where accountability is, and rightly so, considered too moderate in the country and abroad as well. Here all can sit in safety, but only some could sit safely in a few countries, and it would be necessary if they did not feel they were safe. In such a country it is simply impossible to speak about dictatorship or an attempt of dictatorship. This is also part of a false propaganda campaign of altering the meaning of the words, in which the most regrettable fact is that politicians who originally were researchers with good reputations sign their names to this. They try to interpret these things with twisted logic. There is a survey...

[Palfy, interrupting] One can only conclude that at present the Hungarian Democratic Forum could not get into the government under any circumstances, but if we add all the numbers of the coalition, they could still not do so.

[Antall] I do not like to make predictions in this area. I can only recall that during the time I was abroad and immediately after, the local authority, the local self-government elections, which I mentioned because I had

some bad feelings as we performed poorly at the elections on one or other occasions... [pauses] Every head of government I met said this is the most natural thing in the world. Between elections, when a party or a government makes unpopular decisions, they get place at a disadvantage compared with either those who on the opposition benches can go on criticizing without difficulties, or those who without having to accept any political responsibilities can say only good things, kind things, and demonstrate a very generous behavior.

We are not governing for the sake of governing; we are not governing with an eye to elections; we do what we regard important in the interest of the country.

[Palfy] Only we are not yet in 1994.

[Antall] No.

[Palfy] What will happen until then I imagine will largely depend on how the Hungarian people tolerate the social tensions, increased unemployment, the lack of higher living standards which they have been hoping for, and the tribulations of every day, for which obviously they had not been prepared.

[Antall] This is the big question. This is why we have to be grateful that the Hungarian people have so far demonstrated understanding, and I hope will have the understanding with respect to the need to carry out this transformation in this manner.

Neither the Hungarian Socialist Party nor the Federation of Young Democrats nor the Alliance of Free Democrats came forward or had any ideas, proposals which would have made the period of transformation easier for the Hungarian people. On the contrary, they proposed much more drastic changes; in the economic area, they and their advisers had ideas that would have gone much further to impoverish the country in the first stage.

They also knew very clearly that this would result in politically and extremely disadvantage social consequences, but they did not want to shoulder politically these disadvantages. They would happily drive us into imdertalong even more such measures, such speeding up of matters, which would increase the social side effects. This would ensure that while doing this dirty work, at the same time we would be worn out to such an extent in the political sense, that in the second round they would be elected. The Soviet market, the loss or narrowing of the Central and Eastern European market, the loss of these regions as markets—which, by the way, owe us \$2 billion—where our production and exports had been directed, means enormous disadvantages and losses. An advanced industrial country could not have been able to tolerate it. Unemployment is the direct consequence of these events. For decades, from foreign loans or other sources, unproductive sectors and enterprises were maintained. They knew very well that this could not have been avoided.

During the past two years, production decreased, because quantitatively it had to shrink, because these markets did disappear. At the same time, in this quarter, industrial production in Hungary increased 3.7 percent. This is the first time that it increased, in this quarter. This is only a small increase and the population is not really directly affected, but this means that the trend has begun. At the same time, in this quarter there is a 13-15 percent increase in exports, and the flow of foreign capital to Hungary is \$425 million in this quarter.

It is not by accident that Western governments, the Western banking world, the international world of banking judges Hungary most favorably among the countries of the region. There are reasons for this. Nobody denies, nobody doubts what the social consequences of this are, how we have to struggle to find solutions. At the same time, it is still worth pointing out—we talk frequently about the reform of the major distributive systems, the reforms of education, health, social provisions. We want reforms, we want to do implement them. It is not possible to implement them without these reforms. But at present the immediate, rapid reform of these major distributive systems would have caused social tensions that would have endangered political stability.

[Palfy] This week, transition brought about quite a curious situation. Some people are now talking about a constitutional crisis, whereas it is not entirely certain that public opinion is as deeply affected by this as all that. I am thinking of the media debate and the dismissal of the radio president, of a signature, or rather the absence of a signature [reference to President Goncz' refusal to sign dismissal of radio president, requested by Antall]. What is your opinion about this? Is it really possible that a constitutional crisis similar to the taxi blockade could evolve here?

[Antall] I do not wish to anticipate this now. We have made a statement about this in the name of the government. I have to say unequivocally that politically I also consider it doubtful that this kind of measure—which prevented a replacement in this post on the basis of the 1990 law, from being carried out and where, incidentally, other circumstances also played a part—is now going to promote agreement. I am not at all certain that this has been a good means for the media law to be enacted as soon as possible. We must therefore now proceed from what is contained in the laws and the Constitution. But this has nothing whatsoever to do with press freedom. In the same way, it has nothing whatsoever to do with the security of the democratic state order, in my judgment.

[Palfy] But it could have something to do with press freedom if the precept is true that one of the sides—let us say the opposition—defends the independence of radio and television, while the government coalition wants to bring it under its thumb.

[Antall] Well, this is much more than a shift in meaning; it quite simply falls in the sphere of political falsifications. We consider it ridiculous that people should speak about some kind of government penetration into radio and television, where everywhere the majority is made up of those who oppose the government; it is their voice that is being heard. We want to achieve success not for ourselves but for the country.

Examination by a parliamentary committee is not a show in which the success of the performing actor or cabaret performer is what decides these issues. But it is something where a position has to be taken on the basis of an objective examination. It is obvious that a violation of the law cannot be committed there, either by standing up and walking out—which in itself is a shocking manifestation—and it has to be carried through and examined, but, thank goodness, not under the kind of circumstances as those at the time of the taxi blockade. I would add that those who used the comparison were obviously thinking of the taxi blockade, where the president of the republic had to submit an amnesty bill in order that we might be able to bridge the constitutional problem.

In any case, I consider the legal situation that has developed to be critical, one that has to be clarified as soon as possible. We have to find the political means with which this can be resolved, because maintaining tension in this issue is not good for anybody. It is true that a lot of other issues should be settled, and here it is not a question of a personal conflict between the president of the republic and myself, which is the direction some people are trying to take.

Finance Minister Kupa Views Budget Deficit

AU2705193792 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 25 May 92 p 1,10

[Interview with Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa by Melinda Kamasz; place and date not given: "The Finance Man Is the Top Minister Everywhere"]

[Excerpts] Did the whole Kupa program burst, or was it only the budget? According to the finance minister, the Kupa program is still the only definitive economic plan, although the delay in the reform of the health service, social insurance, and education can cause serious damage to the entire economy. In addition, if it is launched this year, it might just finish by 1998. It is possible that it will create some shock, but it will be more just, Kupa added. He emphasized that the management of the economy should be held in one hand, and he does not approve of the fact that other working groups, including the economic strategy working group led by Industry and Trade Minister Tamas Szabo are also dealing with it. Regardless of this fact, he admitted that his position within the government has become more difficult in the area of economic management. As to the gossip regarding his resignation, he said that the fight for succession had started.

[Kamasz] Many people think that the economy is not progressing as outlined in the Kupa program, and others also feel that it has an at least one-year delay. Do you accept this criticism?

[Kupa] In my view, the Kupa program is still a definitive and the only economic strategy, and as a whole, it is not in delay. However, it is true that we are behind in certain points. I happen to have with me a report on the areas where we are behind and where we need to act quickly. One of these areas is some elements of the market institutions, for example the agricultural credit bank and the investment banks. The industry policy concept should have been drawn up long ago. The real delay is in the distribution systems, though. We do not have a law on higher education, social policy, or housing, and the lack of these can cause great damage to the economy.

[Kamasz] The Kupa program promised that the budget would be balanced by 1993.

[Kupa] Undoubtedly, it seems that this will not be fulfilled. [passage omitted]

[Kamasz] Now that you have the latest figures, how will this year's budget deficit be?

[Kupa] I will not mention any figures. I think that, as a percentage of the gross domestic product [GDP], we will approximately reach last year's level. On the revenue side, we will have a shortfall of corporation taxes, and the value-added tax and personal taxes will mostly be as planned. The expenditure will be bigger than planned because of the shortfall in the solidarity fund that finances unemployment benefits. However, I do not believe that the shortfall of the fund will be as large as indicated by the Labor Affairs Ministry. The 30-40 billion forints is not realistic, in my view, it will be at 20-25 billion forints.

[Kamasz] However, if the shortfall in taxes is a minimum of 60 billion forints and the solidarity fund has a 20-billion forint shortfall, then we are already at 150 billion.

[Kupa] You will not be able to get figures out of me. However, the deficit will not be over 5 percent of the GDP. It will be at around 4 percent, providing that we take some necessary steps on the expenditure side. [passage omitted]

[Kamasz] There is no doubt that the budget will be modified; only the timing is a question. When will it be accomplished?

[Kupa] When we manage to decide what kind of modification will cause the least amount of legal debates. We want to avoid the budget modification becoming yet another turbulent event with countless proposals to change the expenditure plans. We want to have the greater deficit caused by the income shortfall passed, and we are asking Parliament's authorization for financing. However, I would not change the structure of the budget mid-year. We will definitely inform Parliament on the

results of the first five months in June. I hope that it will be visible by then whether to have the deficit changed in August or to start this as early as June.

[Kamasz] Financing the budget presumably means issuing state bonds. According to some views, however, issuing such a large amount of bonds will stop the interest rate from decreasing to the desired level.

[Kupa] There are huge savings; therefore, this will not cause any problems because the issue will only cover a section of the savings. We will issue a state bond with a maturity of many years and at a surprisingly low interest rate. We have already received very honest offers on large amounts from a number of banks, but we do not want to use this facility just now. [passage omitted]

[Kamasz] The devaluation of the forint has not even reached the official inflation rate. Are you planning any further devaluations?

[Kupa] I am not sure if it is necessary to conduct a policy of devaluing to the real value. This will be decided if and when the forint becomes firmly devalued on the inter-bank foreign currency market. I do not recommend government measures, though. The Hungarian National Bank has the powers to act on its own.

[Kamasz] When do you plan to raise the foreign currency limit for people travelling abroad?

[Kupa] We do not have any proposals on this at the moment. [passage omitted] We will act with consideration and perhaps by taking other liberalization measures.

[Kamasz] If your ideas come true. I only mention this because your role in determining economic issues in the government appears to be diminishing.

[Kupa] The economic cabinet remains the body that prepares the government's decisions in this area. However, the government's management structure undoubtedly leads to friction losses because of the parallel areas. I will quote an example deliberately not from my area. We can increasingly often hear the accusation that Hungary does not have an industry policy. How is it possible to formulate an industry policy when there is an Industry and Trade Ministry doing the daily industry policy, a National Technical Development Committee responsible for developments, a Foreign Economic Relations Ministry directing industry's foreign economic policy and, in addition, the National Property Management Corporation will also be established to determine what the industrial enterprises in long-term state ownership should do? No one could make industry policy out of this. Industrial management and development, industry's foreign economy, and the industry policy that can be applied in the case of state property, are run completely separately. It is poor comfort that all these go through the economic cabinet. [passage omitted]

[Kamasz] Do you feel that the control of economic policy has slipped out of your hands?

[Kupa] No, but my situation is more difficult. The system of political state secretaries provides an extremely wide scope for removing certain tasks from the administrative structure. [passage omitted]

[Kamasz] What do you think of the view that, when better times come, they should be hallmarked by a finance minister who was a founding member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]?

[Kupa] I am also made conscious of this from time to time. I do not actually have illusions. However, I do enjoy the support of the MDF faction. [passage omitted] It is obvious, though, that a dominant party—which I believe will win the next elections—has to think about the elections. In December, after the national meeting, it will need a government program that will help win the elections.

[Kamasz] A possible boost to the economy could be very useful to increase the chances. What do you think?

[Kupa] The economy has to be set on a healthy growth course, but we must not artificially boost it. No one would believe this of us anymore, learning from the experiences many years ago. I find any such rough interventionist policy very dangerous including selective export incentives. However, it is possible to take steps in infrastructure, in attracting foreign working capital, and in many other areas, but all these together can only generate growth if the economy remains healthy. [passage omitted]

Socialist Party Chairman Discusses Policies

AU2105131292 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 15 May 92 pp 1,4

[Interview with Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], by Peter Vajda and Istvan Zalai; place and date not given: "The MSZP Is Following Its Own Road"]

[Excerpts] Our correspondents Peter Vajda and Istvan Zalai spoke with Gyula Horn about national and party policy matters before the beginning of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] congress scheduled for today. Some of Horn's major ideas: He is aware of the possibility of cooperation between liberal and left-wing forces. In his view, there are such opportunities primarily in defending democracy and human rights. He also describes for the first time the national issues with which the MSZP wants to deal; in his view, it would be a mistake to reduce these issues to the single issue of Hungarians living abroad, as some people suggest. According to Gyula Horn, the MSZP congress will modernize the party structure and revitalize its leadership. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Does today's political logic dictate a strategic cooperation of the opposition parties?

[Horn] Regarding our cooperation with the liberal parties, we basically agree with everything formulated regarding the defense of democracy and human rights. However, there are considerable differences of view on basic issues like the economic and social restructuring. As opposed to the liberal parties, we claim that the main problem is that privatization is not being properly managed rather than the fact that the state was too involved with the restructuring. In our view, privatization is not moving in the right direction and, if the state is now strongly intervening in this process, a small echelon is doing it for the benefit of fiscal policy, in order to cover the budget deficit with income derived from privatization. We also have considerable differences of view on the land issue and on social issues, and these are strategic issues today. I stress that I do not want to underestimate the importance of defending democracy, and we are natural allies in this respect. However, on the aforementioned basic issue, in my opinion, we need a totally different position that we will try to declare during the upcoming congress over the weekend. We want to formulate the things we would do differently if we formed the government. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Prior to the upcoming congress, one of the MSZP's well-known figures, Matyas Szuros, urged the party to rethink and reformulate some strategic issues. To what extent can the congress be expected to do this?

[Horn] We set out three goals for the congress. First: We will evaluate Hungary's situation in the middle of the current parliamentary term, and we will formulate our opinion on our future tasks. Second: We will further modernize our party's internal structure and revitalize its leadership. Third: We would like to show that we do have a concept that radically differs from that of the present government; in other words, we would like to show what we would do differently if we were in government today. We agree on these strategic issues. At the same time, I would like to stress that there are no debates within the party on basic issues. Those who say that we should deal with national issues, issues that affect the fate of the nation, cannot even precisely formulate what exactly they mean. We are talking here not only about the Hungarians living abroad, but also about the difficult situation of our agricultural sector, the situation of national minorities living in Hungary, the situation of the Gypsies here, environmental protection, and our relations with the greens. I could also add here the fate of our national institutions, first of all of our radio and television, as well as the type of policy carried out by the Hungarian National Bank. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] What will your relations with the trade unions be like? Is something emerging like the relations between the British Labor Party and the British trade unions?

[Horn] No. Our relations are different. In Britain, can be collective members. In my opinion, there can be no such thing here for a long time, because we cannot limit our

trade unions' sovereignty. However, there could be an electoral alliance here; in other words, if trade union representatives want to run in the next parliamentary elections, they can receive maximum support on our lists. [passage omitted]

Governing Coalition Statement Criticizes Goncz

*LD2505223992 Budapest MTI in English
1712 GMT 25 May 92*

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—Under the title "Constitutional Practice of the President of the Republic's Scope of Authority," governing coalition parliamentary group leaders submitted a statement to parliament, speaker Gyorgy Szabad announced today.

In the draft, Imre Konya (Hungarian Democratic Forum), Tibor Fuzessy (Christian Democratic People's Party) and Gyula Pasztor (35-member faction of the Independent Smallholders Party) termed Goncz's refusal to honor Prime Minister Antall's request to fire the Hungarian radio president a constitutional violation.

After quoting certain clauses of the constitution, the draft reads, "being seriously concerned with the president's step, which can jeopardize parliamentary democracy, parliament calls upon President Goncz to practise his scope of authority always in keeping with the constitution...."

Goncz maintains that firing the radio president would harm democracy "through violating the freedom of the press". Goncz said he would make no such move until parliament passes a media law.

According to the constitution, the president can refuse to appoint or relieve public institution leaders only if doing so jeopardizes constitutional order.

In the governing coalition's view, however, firing the radio president would violate neither press freedom nor, through it, constitutional order.

According to Peter Tolgyessy, president of the largest opposition party, the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD), it will be a serious violation of the constitution if parliament passes the resolution with a 51-per-cent majority.

Parliament is not entitled to pass any resolution concerning the president of the republic with just a 51-per-cent majority, because that would mean exerting political pressure by anti-constitutional means, Tolgyessy said at a press briefing in Bekescsaba today, after an AFD victory in by-elections there.

Kajdi Discusses Decree on Radio, Television

*LD2605232592 Budapest MTI in English 1956 GMT
26 May 92*

[Text] Budapest, May 26 (MTI)—The government decree of 1974, which states that Hungarian radio and Hungarian television are to be supervised by the Cabinet, is an invariably valid legal measure. This is the

opinion of the administrative secretary of state of the Prime Minister's Office, Jozsef Kajdi.

Speaking to MTI on Tuesday [26 May], Kajdi said the government resolutions passed after the legislation law came into force in 1988 can actually only regulate the tasks of the organs managed, and can thus not be considered as legal measures.

However, the closing measures of the law state that it does not affect the resolutions handed down earlier. Therefore, the much-debated government decree of 1974 is still in force. Alajos Dornbach, MP [member of parliament] of the Alliance of Free Democrats, recently asked the constitutional court to determine the anti-constitutional nature of the 1974 government decree.

The secretary of state also said the constitution decrees that a law must regulate the supervision of radio and television. At present, however, the new media law is still under discussion, which means it is not in effect—was how Kajdi justified that the government lawfully exercises its supervision over Hungarian radio and television.

Statement on Media Reporting of Government Issues

*LD2705204392 Budapest MTI in English 1829 GMT
27 May 92*

[Text] Budapest, May 27 (MTI)—At the government spokesman's briefing held on Wednesday [27 May], the following statement was handed over to journalists:

The government discussed some foreign news agencies' reports, based on statements by political and social opposition circles, on a "media war" in Hungary, tension between the government and the president of the republic, and "a government offensive against the Hungarian head of state". The government denies these news agency reports as unfounded.

"In the course of its operation, in each case related to the Hungarian radio and the Hungarian television, the government acted in keeping with the laws in effect, which was not only its right but also its constitutional obligation. It was on this legal basis that the prime minister turned to the constitutional court with his questions. At variance with news agency reports, this step serves the clarification of the current situation, the settlement of political issues on the firm basis of constitutional law and the avoidance of similar situations in the future rather than a government offensive against the head of state or a media-war. In keeping with its previous position, the government seeks to handle the issue of the media as a legal affair rather than a personal one. The allegation carried by some press commentaries that the government endeavours to force the president to resign is unfounded. Such accusations are only suitable for impairing Hungary's international prestige."

Applications for Radio, TV Programs Reported

*LD2605221292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1505 GMT 26 May 92*

[Text] It is expected that the current, tense situation will be eased by the lifting of the frequency moratorium, which obviously will take place when parliament adopts the press law. Perhaps it is not so well known that afterwards local radio, if not television, might get under way almost everywhere in the countryside. Agi Veres speaks with Bela Eizer, head of department in the Frequency Management Institute, about how many applicants there presently are in Hungary, and how many of the applications can be satisfied.

[Veres] How many people would like to launch some sort of radio or television program at present in Hungary?

[Eizer] Nationally, approximately 15 requests have come in, in the case of radio, as in the case of television. Regionally, there have been more than 100 for radio, and there have been some 60-70 requests for television.

I might mention the third category, the local program-transmission requests. There have been some 30 applications in the case of radio, and some 20 in the case of television, but strikingly few as compared to the former requests.

[Veres] How do these figures relate to reality? How many frequencies can be allocated? Will every applicant get one, when the moratorium is lifted?

[Eizer] In the case of television, the opportunity will open for one further program-transmission of a national range. In the case of radio, there are frequency possibilities for approximately three, three-and-one-half, national programs.

[Veres] What is the situation with the local stations? Would it be possible to guarantee more frequencies there? Perhaps more than the number of requests on your desk?

[Eizer] Well, in the case of radio stations, it can be taken as almost for certain that we can guarantee more than 30 as local transmissions. In the case of television, the situation is not so unequivocal.

[Veres] What kinds of programs would people like to launch?

[Eizer] There are two large categories. One is the request for the transmission of a profit-interested commercial program, while the other is the request for a small regional transmission which deals with local problems.

[Veres] How is it possible to weigh up how many of the requests here can be taken seriously at present? How many have reconsidered since they could not launch their program when they wanted to?

[Eizer] We have gathered the requests for some three years. Over this time, the requests have been refreshed.

We asked every applicant, up to that time, whether he/she maintained the request in the future. There were some who withdrew, and there were some, for example, whose address was not even found.

[Veres] I have heard that one of 10 new radio or television stations will remain on its feet. What do you think, how many of the large number of requests which you have on record will be able to operate a station for, let us say, at least one year?

[Eizer] I would like to cite a figure I heard from a West European colleague: The production and transmission of a program is profitable in the case of television if approximately 1 million people watch it. In the case of the transmission of a radio program, this figure can be put at 100,000. In my opinion, a very great number of the applicants are not so-called serious applicants—that is, they are not backed by serious capital.

Poll Shows Widespread Public Dissatisfaction

*LD2305090892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 0700 GMT 23 May 92*

[Text] According to the latest public opinion poll, the vast majority of the Hungarian people are dissatisfied with the government's performance. Many people even question Jozsef Antall's suitability.

According to a survey by Median, Public Opinion and Market Research Ltd., the number of those who agree that the prime minister should remain in his post is only 3 percent higher than those who urge his departure.

The public opinion poll shows that the disappointment of people is related to a lowering in their standard of living. Most of those polled identify democracy with a welfare state and would like a transition that does not entail a drastic drop in the standard of living.

Latest Unemployment Figures Published

*AU2505082892 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 20 Apr 92 p 5*

["H.SZ"-signed report: "Manpower Market Review—More Than Half a Million People Without a Job"]

[Text] The number of registered unemployed exceeded 500,000 at the end of April, or more than 9 percent the population that is able to work. The worst situation is in Somogy County, where unemployment is close to 18 percent, as well as, Nograd and Borsod counties, with 15.5 percent and 15.6 percent respectively.

The number of unemployed increased by 24,000 in a month, and this means a 5 percent increase. We could speak about an improvement if we compared this rate of increase with the 20 percent monthly increase last year. However, measured in absolute figures, about 20,000-25,000 people have lost their jobs every month for the past year.

Compared with March 1992, the number of people receiving unemployment benefits increased by 17,000 in April 1992, and the overall number stood at 400,000. The unemployed continue to have little chance of finding a job. There are only four empty positions for 100 job seekers. Although this rate is better than the worst rate in January, it is nevertheless much worse than the one prevailing a year ago, when one-tenth of the unemployed still hoped to find a job.

It transpires from the personnel reductions meant for the end of April that many people will lose their jobs in the near future. On the basis of previous announcements, a total of 100,000 people can expect to lose their jobs. The biggest personnel reductions are expected in Budapest (about 25,000 people), Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County (14,600 people), and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County (9,100 people).

According to the enterprises and ventures in question, the constant drop in domestic and foreign demand continues to be the main reason for the planned personnel reductions. Among other reasons, structural reorganization makes up 16 percent, enterprise elimination makes up 19 percent, and privatization makes up 6 percent.

Jeszenszky Addresses Foreign Affairs Committee

*LD2705204692 Budapest MTI in English
1948 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Budapest, May 27 (MTI)—Addressing the Wednesday [27 May] session of the Foreign Affairs Committee of parliament, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said that both the southern Slav crisis and the related reaction of the international community were in a volatile state. It is very difficult to make prophecies and foretell what course events will take, he said. The Hungarian foreign policy-makers are analysing the latest developments and taking measures complying the best with the country's interests, keeping in view that Hungary's scope of manoeuvres is rather limited in the particularly complicated situation.

What is taking place south of Hungary is unprecedented in the post-war history of Europe, the minister said. The international community is getting aware that it cannot look on war crimes in southern Europe with folded arms.

The foreign policy of the new Hungarian regime was always motivated by the aim of establishing friendly relations with all neighbours, the minister said. Concerning his visit to Slovenia and Croatia last week, Jeszenszky expressed the hope that the talks helped lay the foundations of cordial relations, similar to the ones Hungary was maintaining with Austria. Hungary has a vested interest in developing economic cooperation with both states, he said, adding that there is a pressing need for new border-crossing points to be opened and a new motorway built.

All this requires peace which seems still to be awaited, Jeszenszky said. Although the deployment of UN peace-keeping forces brought upon some tangible results, Bosnia is still hit by war and the blue berets have not yet appeared in all Croatian territories which used to be occupied. For this reason, the Adria pipeline cannot be reopened until the United Nations are prepared to put the region under its military and civilian control, Jeszenszky said.

Jeszenszky called attention to the danger that plenty of military and irregular units withdrawn from Bosnia and Croatia were relocated to Vojvodina. Nor is the economic situation of the new Yugoslavia reassuring, since the deteriorating living conditions are threatening with a grave explosion, Jeszenszky said.

The minister termed the demobilization of the Yugoslav Federal Army as a key issue to be settled. To this effect, it would be desirable for an agreement to be concluded on the distribution of the weapons of the former federal Army among the republics under international control, Jeszenszky said. He termed it also desirable for EC observers and UN troops to be sent to regions where grave tensions have emerged but fighting has not yet started.

The MPs [members of parliament] contributing to the session expressed anxiety over the fate of the Hungarian community in Vojvodina.

The committee decided to keep the issue on its agenda. The MPs agreed that in case of emergency the committee would be convened with no delay.

Jeszenszky Urges Closer Relations With PRC

*LD2605231592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1348 GMT 26 May 92*

["Interpellation" by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky on his recent visit to China at the National Assembly—live]

[Excerpts] [Deputy Speaker Vince Voeroes] Deputy Andras Nagy, Alliance of Free Democrats, has submitted an interpellation to Foreign Minister Dr. Geza Jeszenszky under the title: "The Victims of Tiananmen Square, or How Our Foreign Minister Sees the World." I yield to my fellow deputy, Andras Nagy.

[Nagy] Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Esteemed Members of the House, Mr. Minister: Recently, when you were in China, you expressed your admiration for the achievements, the possibilities of that enormous country. Because you were there, no doubt you saw things correctly. I cannot help but think that even today, when I think of China what comes to mind is Tiananmen Square, the picture of the students who were stopped only by the tanks, the troops, the rattle of guns, and the deep, deep silence that followed. Also, even now I have

not forgotten what a strong wave of outrage swept throughout the world, including Hungary, in the wake of those events.

Esteemed Mr. Minister, at a press briefing following your visit, you described these events as historic; that is, events that can never be forgotten. I do not suppose anyone will ever forget them. Mr. Minister, I have just one question: Are you always clear about what you are saying?

[Voeroes] Foreign Minister Dr. Geza Jeszenszky will reply to the interpellation.

[Jeszenszky] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, Members of the House: [passage omitted] I am glad the question has been asked, not only because of its personal aspect, but also because it touches on a significant part of our foreign policy.

The Hungarian Government has adopted the European system of values, and we consistently support human rights and fundamental freedoms. We have never concealed the fact that we condemn and view as unacceptable everything that happened on 4 June 1989 in Tiananmen Square and at several other places in Beijing. We expressed our opinion to the representative of the Chinese Government.

In this connection, I now refer to the fact that in my interview, which the deputy mentioned and in which he misquotes me—to put it mildly—I stated the following. I said: We cannot forget the Tiananmen Square bloodshed, the bloody reckoning with those students demanding political reforms. But while one mourns the students who became the victims and demands the release of political prisoners, one must see that Tiananmen Square, viewed historically, was an intermezzo. It did not bring about either a radical political change, or a roll-back, at least not in the economy.

The political content of this statement is so unequivocal that one of the daily papers, *MAGYAR HIRLAP*, headlined the interview on its front page as "We Will Not Forget Tiananmen Square." I think this in itself is sufficient reason for me to ask: Mr. Deputy, do you always understand what you read? [cheers, applause]

But, in this vein, let me continue with some other thoughts on my visit. It was a successful visit. The main political significance is that we have again established with my counterpart new political principles regarding the formation of the Hungarian-Chinese relations: equal status, mutual interest, and an unambiguous ideology-free character. We established the fact that the value systems followed by our governments, not only in the interpretation of human rights but in the basic political philosophy as well, are different.

China, however, is a great power and a permanent member of the UN Security Council. At the United Nations, it plays an important role in the world's global and regional political processes, including questions and crises directly affecting Hungary's important national interests. It would be irresponsible on the part of any

Hungarian Government to ignore this reality and not to maintain continuous bilateral relations and political dialogue with China. We are not alone in this opinion, in Europe and in the world. [passage omitted]

On the basis of relating these facts I hardly need to explain our political interest in continuing Hungarian-Chinese dialogue and the necessity of my recent visit. In view of the fact that these relations are well-known from the daily press, I would like to ask the esteemed deputy whether or not he has read these reports. China has been developing economically, and based on my personal experiences, I consider the opinion of numerous Hungarian and foreign experts well-founded. These opinions conclude that China will become a strong economic power, perhaps a great power in the future. I am glad I can share a similar opinion with former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. I am particularly pleased that in his interview published on 28 April, Attila Karoly Soos, a deputy of your party, also confirms these impressions of China. I primarily emphasize the development of economic-commercial relations because, like Deputy Soos, I believe that the position of the government is based on our foreign economic endeavors. Mr. Deputy, I stated, quote, China should not be ignored; we must seek our opportunities and find openings in the Chinese market, unquote.

I would like to ask the esteemed deputy whether or not he knows his own fellow deputies' views on foreign economy. [cheers, applause] Like the others, I also believe that China's reforms and its policy of opening up deserve support and stimulation. Sooner or later, an open economy will affect the political sphere as well. Experience shows that such a large country cannot be isolated, but can be affected by continuous contacts. This can be successful in the area of human rights as well. This is possible, however, only if we go to China and state our position on every level. In conclusion, I again refer to the statement of Deputy Soos that he made in Beijing, and would like to confirm that the government, and I personally, hope that, as Mr. Deputy Soos said, quote, our country will establish close relations with China, unquote, because this is in our political and economic interests, in spite of all the existing differences of views. I hope that Deputy Nagy's question will be interpreted in a way that the position of the Alliance of Free Democrats on this important matter has changed. I still consider as valid the six-party agreement formed on the basic issue of our policy toward China made at a meeting in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a few months ago.

Finally, let me voice my hope that esteemed deputy is always clear about what he is hearing and, therefore, he will accept my answer. [applause]

Parliament To Monitor Yugoslav Events Closely

*LD2705183292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1800 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] From this point onward, Parliament's foreign affairs committee will be continuously analyzing the

Yugoslav crisis, and in an extraordinary situation the committee will immediately be convened. After holding talks with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, the committee decided on this plan of action. Jeszenszky called the deputies' attention to the danger that a significant part of the troops withdrawn from Bosnia and Croatia will be transferred to Vojvodina. The members of the foreign affairs committee expressed unequivocal concern about Hungarians' being threatened. Jeszenszky advised that EC monitors and UN soldiers will be deployed to those Yugoslav areas where there is tension, but no fighting has begun yet.

Jeszenszky Statement on Trade With Croatia

*LD2305212792 Budapest MTV Television Network
in Hungarian 1800 GMT 23 May 92*

[Statement by Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky on his return from Croatia and Slovenia; place and date not given; from the "Newsreel" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] Current Hungarian-Croatian trade totals an annual \$150 million. This is really quite small. Hungary could have trade with Croatia to the value of \$3 billion. [passage omitted]

During the negotiations, many areas where we can help were raised—not only reconstruction, but livestock replacement and many other things. We also have found [words indistinct] a way to pay for this. Obviously there is no money for these ideas but privatization is getting under way in Croatia. They are prepared to pay with property and shares for Hungarian services and I believe investment in this country is worthwhile. Other investors will come when the war ends—it is better to beat them to it.

Air Transport Agreement Signed With Slovenia

*LD2405224592 Budapest MTI in English
1927 GMT 24 May 92*

[Text] Budapest, May 24 (MTI)—An inter-governmental agreement on scheduled air traffic between Hungary and Slovenia was signed in Keszthely today by Csaba Siklos, Hungarian minister of transport, telecommunication and water conservation, and his Slovenian counterpart Marjan Krajnc.

Under the agreement, passenger and freight transport flights will be launched by air companies of the two countries.

Hungary's Malev plans to start a Budapest-Ljubljana service in the second half of the year, with two flights weekly.

Slovenia concluded its first air traffic agreement with Hungary (and its first one on road transport in February).

Possibilities for building a railway line for 100 km/h [kilometers per hour] traffic between Szentgotthard and Murska Sobota were discussed at the Keszthely meeting.

With the relevant study plan in hand, the deputy director generals of the two railways will start coordinating the technical concepts on Wednesday [27 May].

Telecommunication link was established between the two countries via Vienna a few days ago. A principal agreement was now reached to set up telephone lines able to handle direct calls between the two capitals, and to Italy by the end of 1993.

Coalition Proposes Sejm Vote on Government

LD2805094192 Warsaw PAP in English 0754 GMT 28 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—The "Small Coalition" made up of the Democratic Union (UD), the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD), and the Polish Economic Programme (PPG), decided Wednesday night to propose a vote of no confidence in the government to the Sejm (lower house) either on Thursday or on Friday.

"We would like the resolution to be considered in the budget debate", said UD leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki after the meeting of the coalition council of the 3 parties.

He added that insofar as the basic principles of the budget were maintained the small coalition would be ready to vote for it.

"The Polish constitutional system does not yet have a constructive vote of no confidence. On the other hand it is obvious that a governmental alternative must be set up, and we shall be considering that with other groupings", maintained Mazowiecki and stressed that the initiative on the question lay with President Walesa.

Mazowiecki made it clear that the small coalition was open to the resolutions of other groupings. "For certain, our main criterion will not be the battle over the identity of the premier", he declared.

Walesa Not To Press for No Confidence Vote

LD2805094992 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0855 GMT 28 May 92

[Text] President Lech Walesa spoke about the country's state of affairs at a press conference in the Sejm building. He said that he will not propose a motion on the resignation of [Premier] Jan Olszewski's government nor will he exert any form of pressure in this matter. As he explained, by announcing his decision on withdrawing support for the government he was merely giving democracy a boost.

President Lech Walesa said that the good of the state is the most important and superior goal. He said that is why he will talk with anybody, even a personal foe or, as he put it, with the devil.

Olszewski Refuses To Submit Resignation Motion

LD2705181192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] [Studio announcer] An hour ago Prime Minister Jan Olszewski appeared at a news conference.

[Correspondent Marian Dachniewski] The prime minister said that he could not adopt a position on the president's letter to the Sejm speaker [in which Walesa indicated that he had lost confidence in the government] before he sought the opinion of members of the government. Now, he has been authorized by the government

presidium to write an appropriate letter, also addressed to the Sejm speaker, in reply to the president's statement. According to the prime minister, difficulties of the supreme state authorities should be resolved in the Sejm. However, I am not going to submit a motion on recalling the government, said Prime Minister Jan Olszewski. The initiative belongs to the Sejm. The government should carry out duties, as no other initiative has been put forward, and there is still no state budget.

The dispute on the course of negotiations on the [Polish-Russian] treaty and accompanying documents and other misunderstandings were also subjects of today's conference by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski. The position of the government, according to Jan Olszewski, had been uniform and consistent that the withdrawal of Russian troops should be carried out to the end, as it limits our state's sovereignty. I regret, the prime minister added, that political issues have become the subject of political games, especially when international affairs are concerned. Although the signing of the Polish-Russian treaty was undoubtedly the success of the president, the Government, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the success, however, was slightly reduced by misunderstandings after the signing of the treaty.

Talking about personnel changes, the prime minister said that he had seen the need for changes in the Radio and Television Committee for a long time, although the president had reservations on the changes. I have decided to appoint a person to head Radio and Television who will ensure reliability, integrity, bravery, and also independence. That is why Senator Romaszewski has been appointed to the post, said Jan Olszewski.

Referring to the Krzysztof Wyszowski affair [Wyszowski accused Foreign Minister Skubiszewski of being a security service agent], the prime minister said that Krzysztof Wyszowski stopped being a prime minister's adviser 10 days ago, and he could not obtain information in the Office of the Council of Ministers during his employment there. According to the prime minister, such actions play a destructive role. Accusations against people holding state posts should give a source for the information or not be made at all.

As far as the possibility for an accord with the president is concerned, the prime minister added that possibilities always existed, and one should take those opportunities.

Marian Dachniewski reporting from the Office of the Council of Ministers.

Government Asks Sejm to Resolve Conflict

LD2705221792 Warsaw PAP in English 2146 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—The Council of Ministers authorised the prime minister and the Presidium of the government on Wednesday to inform the Sejm (Lower House) speaker that the government had agreed to solve the conflict with the president in parliament.

Premier Jan Olszewski told newsmen on Wednesday the president's letter to the Sejm speaker did not contain a motion to recall the cabinet although the assessment of its operation was negative. "When the letter reached the Sejm, the chamber has become a plane on which the conflict should be solved," he stated.

The prime minister declared his cabinet would continue to perform its duties as no other alternative had been proposed and stated the adoption of the 1992 budget was the key task now.

Referring to "the president's unspecified charges", as he put it, Olszewski said the coded message sent to Lech Walesa during his Moscow visit contained nothing more than what the government had previously told the president about the protocol on financial aspects of the Soviet pull-out from Poland.

The prime minister expressed regret that issues relating to international policy have become an object of political games and that it took place when high-ranking officials of other countries visited Poland.

Meanwhile, the Solidarity parliamentary floor group reiterated its offer of good will mission in the conflict. "The aggravation of the situation is in nobody's interest, violent moves would not be recommended. We would like to act towards appeasing moods," leader of the caucus Bogdan Borusewicz said on Wednesday.

According to the floor group the budget should be adopted first and only then solutions to the president-government conflict sought.

The caucus of the Peasant Agreement sustained its support for the present government as the first cabinet in three years which dealt with rural issues in a matter-of-fact manner. The floor group concluded the president's letter withdrawing support for the government had been addressed to the Sejm speaker and he should take up initiative on it. Until then the caucus decided to adopt no stand on the letter.

Zbigniew Eysymont of the Polish Economic Programme caucus said his floor group was concerned about the failure to take a stand on the president's letter by the Sejm Presidium.

The letter is important because it contains suggestions to find means of appeasing the conflict and wayouts from the crisis. Therefore the Sejm Presidium should take a stand on it and submit it for discussion by the convention of senior MPs, he opined.

The Democratic Union deputies appealed to their allies from the small-coalition to decide about bringing a vote of no confidence in the Jan Olszewski cabinet next week.

The caucus has not decided yet when to put forward the no-confidence vote but firmly stated this government should not remain in power any longer as its operation destabilised the country, spokesman for the floor group Andrzej Potocki said.

A decision on the vote is likely to be taken by members of the three coalition parties, that is the Democratic Union, the Polish Economic Programme and the Liberal Democratic Congress, next week, he added.

The efforts of the small coalition to topple the government were strongly criticised by the Centre Alliance parliamentary floor group. "The Democratic Union's proposal to set up a cabinet with Tadeusz Mazowiecki as prime minister is unacceptable for us as such a government would lack dynamism and efficiency of operation. Besides, it would be hard for it to win social trust," Marek Dziubek stated.

Moczulski Sets Conditions for Joining Government

*LD2705171992 Warsaw PAP in English 1052 GMT
27 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—The leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), Leszek Moczulski, on Wednesday announced that he would be asking Prime Minister Jan Olszewski for six to seven ministries for his own party and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL).

Moczulski told reporters before his meeting with Olszewski that the ministries concerned were defence, justice and "various economic ministries," as well as the Department of Information.

He added that the allocation of the ministries was the least important matter, since the central questions were the "new government structure, its accountability and ability to function, and a quick move to a policy which would have a spectacular effect".

Moczulski emphasised that the government must have good relations with the president.

Claims Olszewski Accepts Conditions

*LD2705172492 Warsaw PAP in English 1306 GMT
27 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—The leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) Leszek Moczulski said after an hour long meeting with Prime Minister Jan Olszewski that the P.M. [prime minister] had accepted his proposals for government restructuring.

Earlier Moczulski had told reporters that he would be asking Olszewski for six or seven ministries for his own party and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL).

Moczulski stressed that no decisions had been taken since these were preliminary talks. He revealed that the positions of the two men on the question of making the budget more realistic were becoming closer.

Government Rebukes Charges Against Skubiszewski*LD2705135592 Warsaw PAP in English 1201 GMT
27 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—The Government Press Office issued a communique Monday in which it rebuked the 'NOWY SWIAT' daily for irresponsibly publishing a statement accusing Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski of being a former Security Service (SB) agent.

The statement in question was made by Krzysztof Wyszowski who, the communique said, "had no access during his work at the Council of Ministers office to any documents that would allow him to formulate such opinions."

Wyszowski resigned as Prime Minister Jan Olszewski's aide on May 18 and the "irresponsible publication of such accusations as those contained in his statements deserves deep regret", the government press office stressed.

Skubiszewski Article Discusses Changes in Europe*PM2605070692 Paris LE MONDE in French
22 May 92 p 6*

[Article by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski: "Poland Faced With the Changes in the EC"]

[Text] Since the end of World War II, the Poles have been very enthusiastic about the idea of European unity. Because their country had been forcibly incorporated into a political, economic, and military entity under the burden of Soviet domination, they looked with admiration and envy at the voluntary creation in the Western part of the continent of a grouping of nations intended to end sterile and ruinous conflicts and to enable the member countries to jointly tackle the tasks and risks of the future. They always admired the non-hegemonistic nature of the EC and welcomed the fact that its success defied Marxist-Leninist dogmas about the inconsistencies dividing the Western countries.

With communist propaganda constantly announcing the inevitable and imminent disintegration of the Community, the Poles noted with deep satisfaction its dynamism and its transition toward increasingly advanced forms of political and economic integration. They appreciated the fact that merely by its existence the Community exercised a corrosive influence on the world communist movement and on the Soviet bloc. Indeed, the creation, maintenance, and progress of the Community caused cracks to appear in the communist monolith. Very intense theoretical controversies relating to it arose among the communist parties and states, for instance the polemics between the Italian and Soviet parties or between the Soviet and Chinese parties.

For a long time the Poles had seen the Community as the ideal framework in which what might be called "the German problem" could find a just, reasonable, and permanent solution. The birth of the common institutions and a collective decision-making system showed the possibility of

giving the Germans development opportunities in keeping with their traditions and resources without any danger to the neighboring countries.

The Community always struck the Poles as a multinational grouping with a peaceful mission in which political and economic unity presents no danger to the identity of its component parts but rather constitutes an opportunity for its assertion and development.

Guaranteeing the Continuation of Democracy

That just shows that the Poles, like their southern neighbors, have dreamed for the past 30 years of the possibility of one day joining the Community. The first precondition for realizing that dream has already been achieved—liberation from Soviet hegemony and the recovery of democracy and freedom. Second, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia have signed association agreements with the Community and have thus opened up the possibility of becoming full members when various economic and legal conditions are fulfilled. For this reason, the three countries want to make their voices heard in the current debate on the expansion of the Community.

In moving closer to the Community, Poland is not just seeking material advantages. Like Greece, Spain, and Portugal, it wishes to guard against any risk of a return of totalitarianism and to guarantee the permanence of the democracy which was recently regained. It is also seeking a definitive and stable place in Europe. It is profoundly aware of its cultural affinity with Western Europe—is the pope not Polish?—it wishes to anchor itself once and for all to the group of nations to which it is bound by so many historical, cultural, and human ties.

Having said that, there is no need to add that the current debate on the development of the Community, in other words on the Maastricht treaty, interests the Poles very much. Obviously, not being members of the Twelve, the Poles know that it would be inappropriate of them to try to interfere in the discussions on the Community's future form. But they feel that the Maastricht treaty represents a new and important stage in the consolidation of the Community. However—contrary to some statements—that is precisely what they hope for. The dilution, weakening, or paralysis of the Community does not correspond to their vital needs. If they wish to join the Community, it is not to form part of a "common market" or a free trade zone, not to say a new Society of Nations. They want to belong one day to a strong political and economic union.

Deprived of their state at the end of the 18th century, exposed throughout the whole following century to a brutal and systematic attempt at Germanization and

Russification, having faced the danger of elimination undertaken jointly by Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union, they emerged from those trials strengthened in their identity and with the feeling of representing something unique in the family of European nations. Thus they do not understand how the opponents of the Maastricht treaty can present it as a threat to national existence. The Community has hitherto not harmed its component nations but rather contributed to their development and influence. There is no indication that things would be different after the strengthening of the Community following the ratification of the treaty.

Of course, this treaty is very complex and not easy to read, even for a lawyer like the author of these lines. But is this not also true of the Treaty of Rome? The Community's constitutional documents are the results of compromises which never represent simple and perfect solutions but most often solutions which are the lesser evil. Do we need to add that these complex documents quite simply reflect Europe's extraordinary complexity which is disturbing but very precious?

There is no lack of voices, inspired by sympathy for the Central European countries, who invoke the interest and future of those countries to prevent ratification of the Maastricht treaty. Allow me to say that they do not really understand the problems of Poland and the two other countries of the Visegrad constellation. In the past, the Community constituted our hope and did us a great service by contributing to the erosion of the communist and Soviet monoliths. In the future it can become for us a haven of economic progress, democracy, and security. For this to happen, it must progress toward increasingly advanced forms of union. We think Maastricht serves that objective.

So far the quantitative progress of the Community has been accompanied by a qualitative progress. The expansion to include the countries of northern and southern Europe went hand in hand with the development of the Community. We have no doubt that the same will happen when, in a few years' time, the countries of the Visegrad triangle become full members of the Community. They will bring to it their experience, their cultural wealth, and their unshakable faith in Europe which must unite economically and politically to safeguard its greatest and most fertile source of wealth, namely its national differences.

Sejm Committee Demands Changes in EC Treaty
LD2705210192 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT
27 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—The agriculture committee of the Sejm (Lower House) cannot support ratification of the treaty of association between Poland and the European Communities (EC) until the agriculture ministry has put forward its proposals to restructure the Polish agricultural sector so as to allow it to face Western competition, Sejm Deputy Jerzy Pilarczyk told a joint session of 5 parliamentary committees on Wednesday.

Earlier, Acting Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski told the committee members that, under the treaty proposals relating to agriculture, Poland will on a one-off basis reduce import duties on EC products by 10 percentage points, while the EC will reduce by 60 percent over 3 years the duties charged on Polish exports. Export quotas for Polish agricultural goods will be increased by 10 percent a year over a 5-year period. It is envisaged that negotiations on further liberalisations will take place in 5 years time.

Government representatives told the committees that further progress in the agricultural negotiations would not be possible until Poland's agricultural policy was restructured in accordance with the intentions of the treaty of association.

Polish-Brandenburg Cooperation Intensifying
LD2105205392 Warsaw PAP in English 0918 GMT
21 May 92

[Text] Potsdam, May 21—Cooperation between Poland and Brandenburg entered a new stage, with encouraging signs emerging in all its aspects from economy to education, Brandenburg Minister-President Manfred Stolpe told a press conference in Potsdam after a meeting with three Polish governors from border provinces.

Stolpe and the Polish governors agreed to open 23 railway and road border crossings and 6 ferry links. The road border crossing in Kostrzyn is to be opened on September 1. The crossings at Osinow Dolny and Rosowek are to be opened in the autumn of 1992. The Guben-Gubinek crossing can be opened only in mid-1993 because of high costs of building a bridge over the Odra River.

The conferees paid much attention to the safety of Polish citizens on Brandenburg roads. Stolpe assured the Polish governors that the Brandenburg authorities would do their best to ensure safety for Poles in this land. The police seized many perpetrators of notorious attacks on poles, with Romanians and Bulgarians accounting for 80 per cent of the attackers, Secretary of State at the Brandenburg Interior Ministry Werner Ruckriegel said. He added that the trial of 5 Romanians accused of brutally attacking Poles started in Frankfurt an der Oder.

Russia Rejects Environmental Damage Protocol
LD2705193892 Warsaw TVP Television First
Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 27 May 92

[No video available]

[Excerpt] Under the agreements signed in Moscow, Polish environmental protection inspectors will have permanent access to all former Soviet Army bases. As a result of the inspections, joint protocols are to be drawn up on the state of ecological damage. Today, however, the Russians refused to sign protocols on handing over bases if they mention ecological damage.

[Unidentified reporter] Up to now, the Polish services have tried in vain to come to an agreement with Russian experts on a joint assessment of ecological damage that has arisen in the evacuated military bases. The Russians did not show up for arranged meetings. The Polish side made its own assessments, therefore, and included comments on the subject in the protocols for taking over the bases.

[Unidentified voice] Today, the Russian side refused to sign those protocols on taking over the bases where there is a list of areas where ecological (?damage) has arisen.

[Reporter] There will be talks aimed at clearing up the position of the Russian side in Legnica tomorrow. The entries concerning damage are only for the record, as Poland has, under the signed agreements, given up claims for compensation for the ecological damage sustained. [passage omitted]

U.S., World Bank Housing Credits Approved

LD2805081892 Warsaw PAP in English 2304 GMT
27 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—The Council of Ministers approved Wednesday drafts of two agreements with the United States Government and the World Bank on providing the housing industry with credits amounting to USD [U.S. dollars] 225 million and credit guarantees amounting to USD 25 million.

The first agreement will allow for obtaining short and medium term construction credits and long term mortgage credits while the second one provides Poland with possibility to negotiate on the American market long term credits on easy terms.

The first installments, if agreements are signed at the turn of June and July, will be accessible three months later.

Head of the Construction Ministry Andrzej Diakonow said that a mortgage credit fund is to be established owing to USD 200 million from the World Bank and added that foreign credits are the only chance for Poland in overcoming the crisis in the housing construction.

Interior Ministry Begins 'Purge' of Ex-Communists

AU2605200792 Warsaw GLOB 24 in Polish
20 May 92 p 3

['mkm' report: "A Purge on Rakowiecka Street"]

[Text] A major purge is under way inside the Interior Ministry and Office for the Protection of the State [UOP]. There is no official information to be had, but we have learned from unofficial sources that dismissals are

being poured out, mainly on people at middle management level. Since the dismissal of Jasik, chief of intelligence, and Brochwicz, deputy chief of intelligence, we have learned of further dismissals.

Colonel Zbigniew Chwalinski has been summarily dismissed from his job as chief of the Interior Ministry Inspectorate. Chwalinski used to be the head of Industry Minister Wilczek's cabinet. He was made chief of the Interior Ministry Inspectorate by General Kiszczak and was praised for his prowess by both of Minister Macierewicz's predecessors.

Colonel Gabriel Zmarzlinski has lost his job as director of the Bureau of Defense Matters. His excessively close contacts with the Office of National Security were probably held against him.

The last two henchmen of General Kiszczak are leaving Rakowiecka Street [address of the UOP]. They are Colonel Wojciech Garstka, former adviser to General Ciaston, later General Kiszczak's press spokesman, and lastly deputy chief of the UOP Department of Analysis and Information; and Andrzej Ankiewicz, advisor to Interior Minister Macierewicz, who used to work in the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and the Interior Ministry political apparatus.

The purge of military units of the Interior Ministry has embraced not just General Wejnert and his deputies, which the press has already reported. Now the commanders of regional units of the Interior Ministry's forces are being replaced.

New TV Chief To Fend Off Political Pressure

LD2705202192 Warsaw PAP in English 1701 GMT
27 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—According to Zbigniew Romaszewski, Polish state-owned television lacks competent professionals. The newly appointed president of the Committee for Radio and Television told the Sejm (Lower House) Committee for Culture and Mass Media on Wednesday that the lack of professional competence is often made up for by political commitment, which threatens TV with becoming involved in political quarrels between followers of different parties.

He informed the committee that he is determined to fight any attempt by members of state authorities to exert political pressure on TV directors.

Romaszewski said he intends to prepare radio and TV to changes designed to adjust their status to the requirements of the future law on radio and television. He is also going to propose changes in the principles of granting frequencies to private broadcasting stations and those concerning the functioning and privatization of regional broadcasting centres.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Discusses Dniester
AU2705200992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1830 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/5/1992—The weekly news conference at Romania's Foreign Ministry on 27 May opened on the situation in the Dniester Region where tension had risen after 14th Army units and combat equipment took up positions which drew mobilization measures on both sides with unpredictable effects, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, the Ministry's spokesman, said. The direct communication channel between the two sides—the conciliation commission—had also been blocked, he added.

However, the spokesman said, diplomatic efforts continued as part of the consultation mechanism among the four countries that take an interest in a peaceful settlement. The conference was told that military observers from the Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine who had been at Tighina were joined by Russian observers this week.

On the efforts for a diplomatic solution to the conflict, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that talks were under way for another quadripartite meeting at ministerial level. The Russian Federation had suggested that it be held at Chisinau on 28-29 May and be attended by the ministers of the Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russia and Ukraine, which the Romanian Foreign Ministry had agreed to.

In answer to a question on Romania's military assistance to the Republic of Moldova, the Foreign Ministry's spokesman termed as untruthful and biased the information alleging that Romanian troops and combat equipment had infiltrated the area on the left bank of the Dniester, specifying that cooperation between the two countries was the only foundation for any kind of support from Romania.

On the Romania visit of the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger on 28 May, Traian Chebeleu said that it was another landmark in Romanian-U.S. relations and an illustration of the wish of the governments of Romania and the United States to take action for the further development of the friendly relationship and cooperation between the two countries. It will enable the discussion of a broad spectrum of topics apt to ensure a further positive course to the bilateral political and economic relations and international matters.

A Foreign Ministry delegation travelled to Addis Ababa and Cairo where it held talks with the secretariat of the organization of African Unity, of the UN Economic Commission for Africa and with the Foreign Ministries of Ethiopia and Egypt, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. The talks evinced a number of specific ways for the growth of trade and economic cooperation to mutual advantage, even in the difficult economic and financial conditions that most African countries are faced with.

Romanian economic agents were praised for their successful actions and ventures undertaken in certain African countries jointly with west European companies or with international financial institutions.

On the Bucharest visit of the Netherlands Foreign Ministry's spokesman, Dingenis Istha [spelling as received], head of the Information and Media Division, Mr. Chebeleu said that his talks with Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase and Under Secretary of State Adrian Dohotaru showed both sides were willing to cooperate on an information and media line, and considered the chances for an assistance project under which Romania could learn from Dutch experience in that field and buy information processing equipment. The Dutch diplomat said his country would further give scholarships to Romanian diplomats for training terms at the Hague international relations research institute.

The text of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman's reaction on 26 May to the Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement during the news conference of 13 May about the contents of a paper delivered by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky at London's Royal Institute for Foreign Relations was circulated during the news conference.

The Romanian Foreign Ministry's spokesman said he would not comment on his Hungarian counterpart's assertions and position, but showed that the Romanian Foreign Ministry had tried to get the text of Mr. Jeszenszky's paper by official channels but the Hungarian Ministry had said there was no such text which eventually could be obtained by other ways. "We have been accustomed to the lessons of Europeanism that the Hungarian Foreign Ministry teaches us, but I think it should be the first to learn them" Ambassador Traian Chebeleu said.

Moscow's Actions on Dniester Conflict Criticized

AU2705191192 Bucharest AZI in Romanian
23-25 May 92 p 7

[Article by Flaviu Pietraru: "Moscow Is Displaying Its True Colors"]

[Text] In the Dniester area of the sovereign and independent state of the Republic of Moldova, the firing of guns by Russia's 14th Army is drowning out the voices of reason in whose name Chisinau—and not just Chisinau—considers political negotiation the only way to resolve the conflict provoked and artificially fanned by the separatists. Moreover, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow has published a statement that expresses "serious concern over the deterioration of the situation in the city of Dubasari" and stresses that "the escalation of armed confrontation is intolerable, especially as it is taking place at a time when extensive efforts are being made to settle the conflict by peaceful and political means."

For those who are attentively following events and the accompanying reactions, the aforementioned statement is an expression of hypocrisy bordering on indecency. Aside from the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia is primarily concerned with the "increased ecological threat" that the armed aggression by the separatists and the units of the aforementioned Army generate in the "area of the Dubasari hydroelectric power plant," the said statement does not attempt—for the sake of appearances—to explain the very dubious "absence" of the Russian observers from the conflict zone at the very time when this conflict was escalating with the very direct participation of Russian units that "had gotten out of control." Then what credibility may the diplomatic steps of a state, that is the Russian state, toward "peaceful solutions" enjoy, when the vice president of that country, Aleksandr Rutskoy, is threatening Chisinau—while the aggression is going on—with the specter of a "Yugoslav variant" should the Republic of Moldova refuse to become a federal state within which the Dniester region, which, along with Moldovan Romanians, is inhabited by Russians, Ukrainians, and other nationalities, enjoys special status.

Thus Russia is displaying its true colors. As it is impossible for Rutskoy to present any personal opinion in the position he is holding, Russia—by deliberately and arrogantly ignoring the norms of international law, which it accepted as a basis for its relations with the other sovereign republics that are members of CIS—is trying to impose the configuration of a state which, even for itself, is difficult to maintain without using methods that blatantly resemble those that failed to ensure the survival of a union doomed to failure from the outset. Rutskoy's demagogic and provocative bugaboo, namely that "a genocide of the Russian population" was allegedly taking place in the Dniester region, is meant for people like Valeriy Ivanov, president of a phantom political formation—the Russian Party of National Rebirth (PRRN)—who has no qualms about stating in public that his party's "main direction of action at this time" is to "grant assistance to the Dniester Republic," a pseudostate that has not been recognized anywhere or by anyone. The fact that this "assistance" consists of gathering "funds and Russian volunteers" to be put at the "disposal of the Dniester authorities" betrays, we believe, everything about the way Moscow perceives the "federalization" of the Republic of Moldova which, we repeat, is a sovereign and independent state that has been recognized as such by the international community.

Senate Adopts Law on Financial Aid to Moldova

*AU2705175392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1500 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/5/1992—On Wednesday, Romania's Senate adopted with a unanimity of vote the law on money deposits in the "Moldova" account. The account was opened at the "Bancoop Bank" and its chief coordinator is the Government of the Republic of Moldova.

This law authorizes the Romanian Government to deposit 150 million lei from the reserve fund under the 1992 State Budget, an amount of money it was willing to allot to the political parties for the election campaign this year. The money that will be placed in the "Moldova" account by autonomous units and commercial companies in 1992 are to be exempted from profit taxes.

Senators and Senate officers contribute more than 130 thousand lei.

The law was immediately sent to the Chamber of Deputies.

Danielescu Comments on World Bank, IMF Loans

*AU2705072292 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian
14 May 92 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with George Danielescu, economy and finance minister, by Corneliu Carlan; place and date not given: "A \$500 Million Dollar Loan for Romania"]

[Text] [Carlan] Mr. Danielescu, what were the main goals of your visit to the United States and what were the results?

[Danielescu] I went to the U.S. aiming to negotiate the re-structuring loan granted to us by the World Bank to back economic reform in Romania. In fact, negotiations started about October last year and—after several rounds of talks—we have now reached the final stage of those negotiations. The loan initially amounted to \$350 million, but we managed to negotiate another \$50 million and the Japanese Eximbank will add \$100 million. As I already said, that loan is to support the economic reform program of the government and the money will be used to equalize the country's balance of payments for this year. We will use the money for imports that are vital for the normal functioning of our economy, such as energy, raw materials, and other goods, including consumer goods for the population. The loan will be granted in two installments with repayment to be made within 17 years after a grace period of five years. The first installment—amounting to \$250 million—is to be available as of June 1992, and the second, toward the end of the year, if we are able to comply with certain requirements.

[Carlan] What are those requirements?

[Danielescu] This year's economic program has been jointly elaborated with the IMF and the World Bank and we pledged to make certain structural changes in our economy. Some of these changes can be measured by means of quantitative indexes that allow us to monitor the evolution of the whole process. Our agreement with the IMF mentions for instance—as such indexes—our money resources, the real interest rate, and other such things. Our arrangement with the World Bank has in view such indexes as those concerning the privatization of the trading companies, the turning of autonomous corporations into trading companies, public investment,

subsidies, liberalization of prices, and the financial discipline of the companies. The whole program involving the World Bank is based on this issue of reforming our companies, so that this year's economic reform actually means reforming the companies. If we are unable to reform our companies—concerning both their privatization and the financial discipline of state-owned companies—we will also fail to reach our other reform goals concerning finance and funds.

The World Bank experts realized—and so did I—that the financial discipline of the companies is the most important issue within our current economic program. There is an index monitoring it: The proportion of the company debts as to the value of production. The former should not exceed the latter by more than 15 percent this year. If it exceeds 15 percent, the second installment of the loan will be canceled. That is why we are going to observe a number of companies operating in the red, to demonstrate the government's determination to restructure such problematic companies so that they can obtain better results. This was one part of our activity in Washington.

[Carlan] Which institution will be administering the loan?

[Danielescu] The loan is payable to the Ministry for Economy and Finance. So it is our commitment to repay the money and our duty to very keenly oversee to what purpose it will be used. More exactly, this means that imports of goods that are needed by our national economy will be made pending the agreement of the Ministry for Economy and Finance. In contrast to other such occasions in the past, we now know exactly what to do with that money.

[Carlan] What else did you do in Washington?

[Danielescu] Well, there were some other actions. I signed a letter in Washington authorizing four trading banks in Romania to take up official relations—in the name of the Romanian government—with the U.S. Eximbank. As a result of the opening of the United States toward Romania, an agreement was reached that the U.S. Eximbank would guarantee all loans for U.S. businessmen wishing to export to Romania. The four large Romanian banks that are entitled to do business with Eximbank are: The Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade [BRCE], the Romanian Trading Bank [BCR], the Romanian Bank for Development [BRD], and the Agricultural Bank.

We also had a final round of talks concerning the investment guarantee agreement with the United States. We might sign this document before the end of May, here, in Bucharest. And finally, we had negotiations with the World Bank on a loan it should grant to support private farmers in Romania's agriculture. That loan is a part of a series of loans given by the World Bank to help restructure various branches of our economy.

[Carlan] What size is that loan?

[Danielescu] The loan amounts to \$100 million, but another \$100 million could be added to it, if the first hundred million is used correctly. That would also be a loan payable to the Ministry for Economy and Finance. Our ministry will grant the money to two banks: To the Agricultural Bank and to the BRD, which, in turn, will grant loans in lei or in foreign currency to private farmers. They would first of all encourage investments, but the farmers' floating capital could also be increased by means of such loans. The investments should be made to increase production, but also to improve distribution and marketing of agricultural products.

[Carlan] Under what circumstances did you obtain the \$100 million loan from the Japanese?

[Danielescu] Japan's contribution within the G 24 loan amounts to \$100 million. Japan agreed to grant us that money simultaneously with the World Bank loan for re-structuring Romania, because it wanted to make sure that the money is going to be used within a well-coordinated program that has been jointly elaborated with that competent international financial institution. The moment the World Bank gives us the money, Japan will do so as well.

[Carlan] When will the first installments of those loans be available?

[Danielescu] The leaders of the World Bank will have to approve of our agreement on their 29 May meeting. Immediately after that, our parliament will have to pass a bill approving of the agreement and the money will be subsequently available for use within the next weeks.

[Carlan] Are the loans pending any political provisions?

[Danielescu] As yet, there are no political stipulations. But everyone knows—everyone living outside Romania—that Romania's general elections are to be organized before this summer ends, in June or July. The general impression is that our democratization process is being implemented according to schedule. If general elections are postponed, however, I do not know what will happen. I would not even think of such gloomy consequences. Anyway, if elections are to be held later, there might also be delays in granting us those loans.

Cabinet Discusses Economy, Environmental Issues *AU2805050192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English* 1845 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/5/1992—A weekly cabinet meeting is in progress at Victoria Palace under Prime Minister Stolojan's chairmanship. Its agenda includes a report on local public finances and discussions on an environment protection bill.

The members of the Romanian Government expressed their hope in their Wednesday, May 27, meeting that general elections may be held by the end of June.

The cabinet also analysed a draft decision that is going to be forwarded to parliament for approval, on the programme, tasks and criteria for the crediting of Romania's foreign trade on 1992, in the name of the state and from state accounts.

A governmental decision was adopted approving the prerogatives and functioning of the interministerial committee for foreign trade warranties and credits, and covenants-framework for the crediting of foreign trade activities in the name of the state and from state accounts.

The minister for the budget, Florian Bercea, presented the execution of the 1991 local public finance. His main conclusion was that last years local budgets had closely depended on the state budget because of the shortage of local financial resources and of the still centralised public service system including education and health. Proposals were made, in keeping with the Constitution, to overcome this situation. They had in view greater autonomy for local public authorities, first of all by increasing the sources of revenues of local budgets. The said proposals are going to be re-examined.

The Wednesday agenda of the executive also included a draft law-framework on the protection of the environment. During debates, that will be resumed, Premier Theodor Stolojan mentioned that conclusions had to be drawn from the issue of the waste dumping at Sibiu and that the laws to be passed had to preclude such a situation with very grave implications in people's lives and for the environment. The minister of the environment, Marcian Bleahu, informed the executive about the discussion he had in Germany on this issue. A commission will be created soon, formed of Romanian and German experts, to clarify the matter.

The government also tackled the issue of the opening of the hard currency market.

Nastase Meets Albanian Parliamentary Delegation

*AU2705174992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1417 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/5/1992—Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase received on Wednesday an Albanian parliamentary delegation led by Azem Hajdari, chairman of the Commission for Defence, Public Order and the Country's Security of the People's Assembly of Albania, who are paying an official visit to Romania.

Bilateral relations were looked into, with the two sides expressing interest in intensified economic, technical and scientific exchanges, all while reviewing the situation in the Balkans.

Roman Interviewed on Results of NATO Meeting

Part I

*AU2705140392 Bucharest AZI in Romanian
20 May 92 pp 1, 3*

[Part one of interview with Petre Roman, president of the National Salvation Front, by Florin Diaconu in Bucharest on 19 May: "People Are Waiting for Political Clarification"]

[Text] The North Atlantic Assembly spring session took place in Banff, Canada, between 14 and 18 May. Mr. Petre Roman, president of the National Salvation Front [FSN], was invited to participate in the meeting of the Civil Affairs Committee, which was held on 16 May. The invitation was extended to him by Senator Jacques Genton (France), president of the Civil Affairs Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly, at the proposal of Mr. Javier Ruperez (Spain), president of the CSCE Subcommittee of the North Atlantic Assembly. On his return from Canada, I asked the following questions of FSN President Mr. Petre Roman:

[Diaconu] What were the results of your participation in the spring session of the North Atlantic Assembly?

[Roman] My presence there led to the adoption of three documents, which were then distributed to the parliamentarians. One concerns the modern political and historical situation in Romania, that is, from 1821 to the present; a second document on our current economic hardships as we see them from within the country, and the importance of their being understood by the international community and the Western world; and a third document on the current political situation in our country. They were distributed to the Assembly's parliamentarians and became the subject of some of the discussions. As a matter of fact, the main and most consistent theme of this session was the situation in the Central and East European countries.

[Diaconu] The meeting's program, which was made available to us, shows that your proposal was not the only one about the situation in Romania, but that there were also other references to our country.

[Roman] They were more than references, as there was a whole report presented by an Assembly subcommission which visited our country. This report, which is rather voluminous, is entitled: "Romania—An Incomplete and Unfinished Transition." Indeed, two of the three documents I presented there, and which I mentioned before, dealt with this report. They were followed by discussions, which were also attended by four parliamentarians from our country, who were also present.

[Diaconu] What is the central idea of the report worked out by the Assembly subcommission you mentioned?

[Roman] The report is rather all-encompassing and quite complex. It refers both to the proper political situation in our country and to certain concrete aspects such as the

press, television, information, and the recent changes that have occurred. The report projects a rather confused political picture in our country—to the extent that things are not yet fully clarified—which inevitably leads to the conclusion that general elections should be held as soon as possible. (...) In my opinion, the report presents the overall opinions and political views that the NATO Assembly delegation members formulated during their visit to our country in a correct and logical form. Regarding the content of the report, it was presented in a session of the Assembly, after which I read my paper. The four Romanian parliamentarians, two senators, and two deputies joined the ensuing discussions.

Part II

AU2705141392 Bucharest AZI in Romanian
21 May 92 pp 1, 3

[Part two of interview with Petre Roman, president of the National Salvation Front, by Florin Diaconu in Bucharest on 19 May: "People Are Waiting for a Political Clarification"]

[Text] Continuing our dialogue with Mr. Petre Roman, president of the National Salvation Front [FSN], on the political significance of his participation in the spring session of the North Atlantic Assembly [NATO's inter-parliamentary organization], we present now the second part of the interview with the FSN leader a few moments after his return to Bucharest:

[Diaconu] Can you make an assessment—which would be of interest for any political observer—of the way in which the report worked out by the NATO Assembly subcommission presented both the problems and obstacles we have to overcome and the real ratio between the still extant hardships and the results achieved?

[Roman] The report points out that the remnants of the communist regime in our country are very active and that, although many important and good things have been done, the current transition difficulties will not make the democratization process in our country any easier. In the achievements chapter, the report mentions the adoption of the Constitution, as an encouraging element. The report also highlights the fact that, regarding the problem of minorities, the situation is no longer in a state of conflict and tension. The report stresses that problems still exist, but they are no longer provoking strong tensions. The discussions revealed that, even though Romania is characterized as having experienced an "unfinished transition," this does not amount to a censure for our country—something I also pointed out. Neither does it mean that the transition has been completed in other former socialist countries. It only means that the process started much earlier in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. It means that this process was able to develop in those countries under more favorable auspices and conditions; that is, in a

more favorable international environment. Consequently, the NATO Assembly expects that such a political clarification should also take place in Romania and clearly expressed the desire to see Romania speedily join the advanced group of democracies in that area, particularly as the overall framework is quite inauspicious, meaning that the situation in Yugoslavia is very bad in several respects. First, you have the problem of Bosnia; second, the problem of Macedonia; and third, the problem of Kosovo, with complications regarding the attitudes of Greece and Bulgaria. Therefore, it is all the more necessary for Romania to be stable.

[Diaconu] Why did you choose to present a historical preamble of the current political developments in Romania?

[Roman] This was no preamble; I was invited by the NATO Assembly for two things: To present a report on Romania's political context—and I chose the modern historical political context; that is, from 1821 until now. I presented this report at the opening of the session on 16 May. Following Mr. Javier Ruperez's report, I presented the document on the current political situation in our country, a complementary document to the report of the subcommission headed by Mr. Ruperez. I chose the theme of the modern historical and political context because it is obvious that historical roots are very important and should be known, as can be seen from the situation in Yugoslavia and the conflict in Moldova. For this reason, I presented this report on the modern political and historical evolution, which, as a matter of fact, was very well received.

FDSN Defends Parliament Against Opponents

AU2705124992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1159 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/5/1992—"Noting that the attacks against the fundamental institutions of the state of law in Romania tend to impose the idea of their inefficiency, the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] calls on all those who love democracy to contribute to the observance of these institutions as they are the shield protecting democracy from a potential personal or group dictatorship, no matter the cardinal point from which it may come," reads an appeal of this political party sent to ROMPRES for release.

The FDSN is of the opinion that Romania's Parliament, the first democratic parliament in more than 50 years, meets the highest standards of democracy and, irrespective of the limits or mistakes of one parliamentarian or another, the institution cannot be compromised. The parliamentary group of the FDSN, which holds the majority in the Senate, and ranks second in the Chamber of Deputies, does not refer to itself—FDSN includes academy members, university professors, doctors of science, and experts in all domains—but defends the institution regardless of the value of its members or of the political structure of Romania's Parliament, the appeal stresses.

"Romania's political future depends on the observance of the institutions democracy has created. The one who gives them orders or attacks them is an enemy of our democracy and of democracy in general," the document reads in conclusion.

FDSN Urges FSN To Define Election Stance

*AU2705175192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1607 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/5/1992—On Wednesday the parliamentary group of the Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN) sent the ROMPRES news agency a communique whereby it expresses its "amazement" for the proposal made by National Salvation Front (FSN) Deputy Ion Gurau which led to the postponement "by other 24 hours of the debate of the presidential elections bill adopted by the Senate."

The communique appreciates that "each hour counts" and demands the members of the National Salvation Front parliamentary group "to define their stand and not to vote just for the sake of political compromise but to vote out of duty for the country and for those who elected them."

We remind that the National Salvation Front and its leader Petre Roman declared publicly for urgent elections but they joined the proposal made by liberal leader Radu Campeanu concerning the separation between the presidential elections and parliamentary elections.

FDSN Meets To Prepare for National Meeting

*AU2805050292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1826 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/5/1992—Gathered in ordinary meeting on Wednesday, May 27, the Provisional National Council of the Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN) analysed problems of its territorial organisation and the stage of the preparations for the party's all-country conference.

In that framework decision was made that the Provisional National Council include the thirty-two presidents of the county organisations of the Democratic National Salvation Front which had expressed their

belonging to that party. Thus the Provisional National Council includes 57 members and, as other county conference are to be held, their presidents will become automatically members of the Provisional National Council.

The participants appreciated as corresponding the stage of the preparations for the all-country conference of the Democratic National Salvation Front due to take place in Bucharest in June 1992.

In a communique released in Bucharest today, the National Council of the Democratic National Salvation Front expresses the necessity of holding as soon as possible the legislative elections at the same time with the presidential elections and states that it will further make all efforts to find the necessary solutions in the conditions of a real cooperation of other political forces.

The Democratic National Salvation Front is majority in the Senate and the second party in the Assembly of Deputies.

Liberal Party Confirmed as Member of Alliance

*AU2705124792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1008 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/5/1992—Tuesday evening [26 May] the executive bureau of the Democratic Convention held a meeting that was attended by all the political groupings making up this electoral alliance: The National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], the Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR], the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], the Ecologist Party of Romania, the Association of Political Detainees, and the Civic Alliance Party [PAC]. Approaching the question of the National Liberal Party led now by Nicolae Cervenii, the bureau reached the conclusion that it was not the problem of receiving that party into the Democratic Convention, but of reconfirming the liberals' participation in it.

The meeting has not discussed yet the Young Liberals' request for joining the alliance.

Stating their option for holding general elections in July, the participants also analyzed a schedule of the Democratic Convention's activities during the election campaign.

Sarajevo Mortar Attack Violates Cease-Fire

'War Hell' Described

*AU2705103592 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 27 May 92*

[Risto Djogo report]

[Text] Yet another cease-fire was signed in Sarajevo last night. It was supposed to go into effect at 0600 this morning. Instead of a cease-fire, both sides launched combat offensives. Street fighting is taking place in Pero Kotoric Square and Milutin Djuraskovic Street.

The Center of Security Service, which is under the full control of the Muslim forces, reports that a bomb fell in front of [words indistinct] in Markale. There are many wounded. A shop belonging to Planika, which is also in the city center, is on fire. A bus with the workers of the (?UMPRO) was hit, too.

According to the same source, fire is being directed toward the Institute for Hygiene from the Jewish cemetery. An infantry attack is being launched on Kosevo from Nahorele. All this information comes from the Center of Security Service, which is under the control of the Muslim forces.

We tried to check with Serbian sources as to what is happening. They, too, said that fighting is taking place, that grenades are exploding, and that shots are heard.

The most (?critical spot) was the maternity hospital, which was hit last night. The two top floors were in flames. According to the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs and the footage of Serbian Television, the Green Berets were in the two top floors of the building. Mothers and babies were evacuated.

At the news conference today Stjepan Kljucic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, described the attack on the maternity hospital as a fascist attack and called for a general, global, and total war in Bosnia-Herzegovina until the final victory is achieved against the Serbian army.

So, instead of a cease-fire, we have a war hell in Sarajevo.

Toll Rises to 20 Dead, 70 Injured

*LD2705113192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] According to latest reports, in an horrific criminal act by Chetniks criminals in Sarajevo this morning, a grenade was fired at the very center of the city; 20 people were killed and 70 were injured.

At a session which ended several minutes ago, the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina decided to request the UN Security Council for urgent military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina because of continued brutal aggression and crimes against the innocent population.

Presidency Demands Military Intervention

*AU2705213892 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 May 92*

[Zdenko Vranjes report on news conference by Hajrudin Somun at the International Press Center in Sarajevo on 27 May]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Hajrudin Somun, adviser to the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, told correspondents today that at today's session the Presidency once again demanded an international military intervention because of aggression and terrorists' crimes, but only [words indistinct]. The most frequent question from correspondents was whether the Presidency and government will demand the extradition of war criminals Radovan Karadzic and Nikola Koljevic from the Portuguese Government. Somun replied that there are grounds to do so. He said the Russian envoy is indirectly involved [kumovati] in the crime committed on Vaso Miskin Street this morning because he announced a truce and the lifting of the blockade on the airport for today, thereby creating optimism among many Sarajevo citizens so that an (?extremely) large number of people were in the streets today.

Senad Pecin from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina presented several reports that the ministry had gathered.

[Begin Pecin recording] The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina has received information from one of the closest associates of Radovan Karadzic, who has provided proof of a prepared plan for the artillery shelling of the [name indistinct] City Maternity Ward and the Sarajevo Accident and Emergency Clinic.

Before leaving for Lisbon, Karadzic and Koljevic went through (?thorough) preparations in Belgrade. Koljevic had left for there a few days before. Karadzic had several preparatory discussions with General Ratko Mladic and Slobodan Milosevic. Karadzic had intensive contacts with a group of generals in the General Staff of the Armed Forces in Belgrade. At these meetings, several different ethnic maps of Bosnia-Herzegovina were made which Karadzic was told to press for. Karadzic was given instructions from Milosevic to offer [word indistinct] peace guarantees and initiatives at one particular moment with a view to stopping EC initiatives on measures against Serbia.

According to the statement of this official of the Serbian Democratic Party, Milosevic suggested that Karadzic offer a long-term truce, the removal of artillery above Sarajevo, a lifting of the airport blockade, and guarantees for establishing an airlift and bringing humanitarian aid. It was agreed to continue the ethnic cleansing of Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the same time, a plan was prepared on how to exert (?pressure) [words indistinct] at one moment. Karadzic agreed on this plan with Jovan Tintor, commander of concentration camps run by Serbian terrorists in Semizovac and Vogosca in which

several hundred people have been imprisoned. Following Danilo Veselinovic, who played the same role in previous Lisbon negotiations, Jovan Tintor was selected this time.

According to the plan, Tintor terrorists should begin occupying the hospital complexes in Kosevo and Jezero. If they fail to (?occupy them), they should shell selected hospital buildings with artillery weapons.

After he presented the [word indistinct] proposals in Lisbon on 25 May, during a break Karadzic informed Momcilo Krajisnik in Pale and Krajisnik informed Jovan Tintor that they can start attacking the hospital complex. One hour later, an infantry [word indistinct] from [names of places indistinct] at the hospital [passage indistinct] and City Maternity Hospital on 25 and 26 May which was (?rejected) several times. Tintor's terrorists opened artillery fire at the City Maternity Hospital and the Accident and Emergency Clinic. Investigation into this unprecedented crime is under way. There are indications, as well as certain evidence, that a former long-time state official of Bosnia-Herzegovina and General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Second Army District of the Yugoslav People's Army, were actively involved in this plan. Enclosed with this information that I will distribute later is a copy of the ethnic maps drawn up for Karadzic by military experts in Belgrade, which were given to the Ministry of Internal Affairs by that associate of Karadzic.

One more item: The ethnic cleansing of Sarajevo, as one of the priority tasks of the Serbian Democratic Party, has begun. [passage omitted] [end recording] [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Jure Pelivan expressed, on behalf of the government, sincere condolences to the families of people killed and wounded not only today, but also in the last few days of genocide of innocent citizens. The government does not believe in any false promises by the aggressors and their sponsors. We want specific proof that the aggressor wants a truce and a complete peace, and only then can we talk, but not with everyone. The government has joined the demand to the UN Security Council for international military intervention. Pelivan said that one should approach things differently in further talks with the army.

Regarding the government reshuffle, he said that he already has a list of the new government officials:

[Begin Pelivan recording] I still cannot announce it, however, because opposition parties are still holding talks with the Presidency about certain issues. This is one thing. They should say whether they will actively take part in the government or only give passive support under these conditions. [passage omitted] I can only say that we want to solve the question of the government and the appointment of the Presidency if possible. Regardless of whether the Presidency is appointed or not, I will present a proposal for reshuffling or submitting resignations. [end recording]

Regarding ethnic Serbian ministers, Miodrag Simovic and Ranko Nikolic are actively participating in the government, and [word indistinct] minister [word indistinct] whose status has still not been clarified, along with other Serbian ministers, most of whom were relieved of duty after joining the so-called Government of Serbian Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Pelivan informed correspondents that the government decided today to provide funds in order to make pension payments soon.

Kozyrev Said Partly To Blame

LD2705161892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 27 May 92

[Slavko Rako report]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The Serbian terrorists were not satisfied with the effect of their mortar attack on Sarajevo this morning and opened sniper fire on those who came to save the wounded. Again, they did not stop: This afternoon yet another shell landed on the city center, injuring a policeman, a woman and a girl. Shortly before 1300 GMT dum-dum bullets injured three people in front of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. A fresh attack on the Sarajevo suburb of Dobrinja was launched at 1400. Tank and other fire is being opened on residential buildings. Dum-dum bullets are whizzing through the center of the city while I am reporting this.

According to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Territorial Defence Headquarters, what is involved here is treason: The fifth column in the city most probably reported that there were huge breadlines in Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

At the session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, as reported by Hajro Somun, adviser for foreign relations to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, it was stressed that responsibility for these events should partly be shouldered by Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev and his boss Yeltsin because Kozyrev came to Sarajevo with a mandate from Slobodan Milosevic to offer a cease-fire. According to Hajro Somun, the citizens relaxed after the false promise had been given and went out into the streets where this horrific crime took place. [passage omitted]

Serb Army Denies Responsibility

LD2705175392 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1716 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Sarajevo, May 27 (TANJUG)—The army of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs is not responsible for Wednesday's [27 May] shell explosion in the centre of Sarajevo which left at least 20 civilians dead and 50 wounded, President of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Momcilo Krajisnik told Novi Sad television on Wednesday.

The local Serb army in Bosnia-Herzegovina did not fire a single bullet since Tuesday [26 May] evening in accordance with the agreed cease-fire, said Krajisnik.

Whoever fired the shell against the civilians in Sarajevo must be found and punished, notwithstanding which side he belongs to, said Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) General Nedjo Boskovic on Bosnia-Herzegovina television.

Boskovic, who is in Sarajevo for negotiations on the de-blocking of the garrisons, said that he had not been on the spot and did not know where the shell could have come from.

Members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Territorial Defence who are loyal to the rump Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslim-Croatian Presidency have irregular units over which they have lost control, warned Boskovic. These paramilitary units are made up of Muslim extremists who have come from outside Bosnia-Herzegovina, said Boskovic.

Commander of the army of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs Lieutenant General Ratko Mladic ordered a cease-fire on Tuesday evening, said Boskovic. If a member of this army fired, Mladic must find him and bring him to trial.

General Boskovic said that he could not understand that such a monster could exist, someone who would fire on people who had left their cellars and shelters in order to buy bread to survive.

The shell fell where a long line of people were waiting to buy bread. The victims have not been identified and it is assumed that there are Serbs, Muslims and Croats among the dead.

"This tragic war must end because Sarajevo has become a ghost city and is threatened with cholera and infections," said General Boskovic.

Representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina government in which there are no Serb representatives and of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina must sit down and reach an agreement, said General Boskovic.

Representatives of Muslims at negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina in Lisbon have said that they will leave the negotiations because of continued conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

A cease-fire was negotiated on Tuesday, but Muslim paramilitary formations violated it on Wednesday.

Izetbegovic Expects Muslim Withdrawal

LD2705125392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1152 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG)—Alija Izetbegovic, president of the rump Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has anticipated in Sarajevo that the Muslim side "will after all withdraw from the negotiations" on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which are being held in Lisbon, today's OSLOBODJENJE writes.

Late last night Izetbegovic visited the main maternity hospital after, as the paper claims, an attack on this institution yesterday afternoon from positions held by members of the Serbian Territorial Defense. At the time of the attack, 130 women and 70 babies were in the maternity hospital. No one was injured.

Izetbegovic's statement coincides with an announcement by the Muslim Party of Democratic Action that its delegation in Lisbon is not negotiating about cantons, maps, nor territorial divisions. It is, however, known that precisely these issues are being negotiated in Portugal's capital.

Muslim Party Recalls Delegation

LD2705193192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1857 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 May (TANJUG)—The Executive Committee of the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka demokratske akcije—SDA] has today decided to recall its delegation from the Lisbon negotiations on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The SDA went to the talks, although the army and the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska demokratska stranka—SDS] violated previous cease-fire agreements and although, as they put it, "the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina is continuing."

The political talks will most likely continue when the international community finds a way of preventing the war and violence in the republic.

Izetbegovic: Peace Talks 'Possible'

LD2705194692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Alija Izetbegovic stressed in a statement tonight to Bosnia-Herzegovina Television that the Presidency's demand for military intervention, addressed to the UN Security Council, is a highly specific demand; that is, the Security Council should finally fulfill its obligations stemming from the UN Charter—the obligation it has in relation to an independent state which has been forced into an imposed war.

Alija Izetbegovic said that the Security Council's session in this respect will be held as early as tonight or tomorrow, and added that copies of this demand have also been sent to other relevant factors in the world, to famous personalities and institutions.

Speaking about the reasons which prompted the Party of Democratic Action to walk out of the Lisbon conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina's future, President Izetbegovic stressed that this was done to protest last night's perfidious attack on Sarajevo's maternity hospital. We are

going to have to talk both to Serbs and Croats, he added, but not in this way. These talks will be made possible once the violence and aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been curbed. Izetbegovic called on all citizens in Bosnia-Herzegovina to use all means in their fight to defend the republic.

Izetbegovic Urges Resistance

AU2705220092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 May 92

[Interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, by unidentified announcer; simulcast on Sarajevo television; broadcast in progress—live]

[Text] we will proclaim it the day for the struggle against these bandits. Therefore, I am calling on the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina at this moment, in these difficult hours to, by remembering today's misfortune, rise up as one in the struggle against these criminals who are making our lives difficult not only in Sarajevo, but also throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. I am calling on them to defend Bosnia-Herzegovina. I am calling on them to use all means, all permissible means, all human means, as people in the struggle against those who have assaulted freedom and life, primarily the life and freedom of the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I am calling on all people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. After today, we should differentiate only between people and monsters. People are all those who we do not ask what they are called, what nation they are from, or what religion they practice. One knows where the monsters are. They are on the hills around Sarajevo. They are on the slopes around Mostar. They are shooting at and destroying the town. They are in Capljina. They are shooting at Bosanski Brod, shooting at the cultural and economic wealth of this country. Of course, the greatest monsters are those who shot at the people who were waiting in line for bread today.

[Announcer] They have also been in barracks. The fact is that at the last session of the Presidency which ended some minutes ago [word indistinct] with some facts that show that the evacuation of the barracks has finally resumed. What is new in this respect?

[Izetbegovic] I was hoping you would not ask that. I would almost say that this is not the moment to talk about it, but since you asked, I will tell you that (?it seems) that the evacuation of these barracks is about to take place. Finally, this bargaining between us and the army [word indistinct] will end in such a way that [words indistinct] probably find some way out that is honorable for both sides. Let them leave, let them go. We are asking that they go as soon as possible. Let them go, we are opening the door. Let them go. Of course, they have to leave behind what is ours in these barracks, but men, women, and children and others and soldiers, let them go. As soon as possible.

[Announcer] Is it true that the evacuation of the barracks has started?

[Izetbegovic] Yes, it has started. At this moment it should be proceeding. It should have begun an hour or two ago. Four days have been lost on these negotiations, but I think that this matter [words indistinct] now under way.

[Announcer] At its session this morning, the Presidency, which has been in constant session for all these days of conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, decided to ask the United Nations Security Council for military intervention. Has this request been sent?

[Izetbegovic] Yes, the request has been sent and a copy has been sent to other relevant parties worldwide, well-known people and institutions, but above all the Security Council. It is requested that the Security Council finally carry out its obligations regarding the Charter. These are obligations which it has toward an independent state, which an international community has toward an independent state on which this war has been imposed.

I think that a session will be held this evening or tomorrow, that is to say, with one quite specific request which was sent even earlier in an indirect way, but this time this has been done directly in a short communication.

[Announcer] There has been growing dissatisfaction in the last few days among Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens regarding the negotiations in Lisbon. The Party of Democratic Action, the party that you lead, decided today to withdraw its delegation from Lisbon. Why?

[Izetbegovic] Above all, the people should know that we went there at the demand of the international community, whose demands we cannot ignore. We cannot bite the hand that feeds us and we must listen to these appeals. You know that these appeals have been repeated. This decision to withdraw the delegation from these negotiations was made as a sign of protest, above all because of this sickening attack on the maternity hospital in Sarajevo. This is a response to this despicable crime which was committed there.

Of course, this is only what they call yet another nail in the coffin because the reasons for withdrawing existed earlier. Finally, after this, we really cannot talk, even though we have not talked directly to these people. These talks were held according to the principle of separate rooms. These talks were always with Mr. Cutileiro. Not even indirect talks are possible in this case. They will be possible one day with the Serbian people, with those people in the Serbian nation who will disassociate themselves from these criminals who have brought misfortune to Bosnia-Herzegovina, who have sown hatred, and put weapons into the hands of madmen.

[Announcer] Does that mean that the Party of Democratic Action is finished with Lisbon?

[Izetbegovic] We have finished talks in this way. Three ethnic groups live in Bosnia-Herzegovina and will continue to do so, God willing. We will need these talks with the Croats and Serbs. Of course these political talks will continue but not in this way. For the time being there will be no talks. In one part of this decision we stated that talks will be possible on the day that aggression and violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina are crushed. We will then ask the international community to help us in that respect.

[Announcer] Mr. President, you have already called all citizens to resist. The people really can no longer put up with this occupation and this terror. When will the (?final) battle for the liberation of Bosnia-Herzegovina begin?

[Izetbegovic] One day, very soon, I will be able to explain to the people, but at the moment I cannot do this, why we have to suffer, grit our teeth, and wait. I cannot say so now, but I think I will be able to do so one day and explain to the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina why we had to put off the beginning of this battle, this final battle.

[Announcer] Will this beginning come soon?

[Izetbegovic] I hope so.

Muslims Attack Yugoslav Army Convoy

LD2805071992 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0309 GMT 28 May 92

[Text] Banja Luka, May 27 (TANJUG)—Three soldiers got killed and another twenty or so wounded when Muslim paramilitary formations attacked Wednesday [27 May] Yugoslav Army troops returning across the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina from the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Muslim Green Berets all of a sudden attacked three military buses with Yugoslav Army troops on board in the municipality of Kljuc, in the west of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serb-controlled police in the neighbouring municipality of Banja Luka confirmed, but said nothing about the fate of other Yugoslav Army troops on the same convoy.

In the area in which this treacherous attack was carried out Dusan Stojakovic, deputy Kljuc police chief, got killed also from ambush on the same day.

The attacked troops were returning from the south of the Republic of Serb Krajina, from which, under the U.N. peacekeeping plan, Yugoslav Army units should be withdrawn and the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops deployed instead.

The Republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed by local Serbs after Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia in those parts of Yugoslavia's former Republic of Croatia in which they are the majority population.

Shelling Continues Overnight

LD2805104892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 28 May 92

[Slavko Rako report]

[Text] The casualty toll of yesterday's tragedy in Sarajevo is 16 dead and 112 injured taken to hospital, of whom over 55 are in critical condition while two are in an intensive care unit. It is not certain whether they will survive.

This appalling crime ushered the people of Sarajevo into a night which turned into yet another hellish night at about 2030 GMT. Following sporadic shots of provocation the aggressor launched yet another attack on Sarajevo from all its weapons. Sirokaca, Zlatiste, and Velesici came under fire from anti-aircraft guns at Vrbanja, following which intense artillery fire was opened from Vrace and Grbavica, notorious strongholds of Serbian terrorists. The Marshal Tito barracks was targeted and eventually hit. A fire broke out there. The Electric Engineering and Economic colleges also caught fire. Fires broke out in several places around this barracks as a result of firing from it. Shells were also raining on the hill of Kosevo. So far we have learned that one of them demolished an apartment on 9 Mitra Trifunovica Street, wounding a father and three daughters.

During the night the students' hall in Nedzarici was hit by a missile. Shells were also raining on the city center. The city reverberated with explosions until 0200 this morning.

Sarajevo was quiet this morning except for several columns of smoke. However, at 0420 four shells landed on the Hill of Kosevo while Bosnia-Herzegovina radio is reporting renewed fire coming from Sarajevo.

According to a report released last night by the Ministry for Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Jusuf Dzorlic barracks in Nedzarici was evacuated last night. The evacuation proceeded with no problems whatever, and without a single bullet being fired during the military column's passage across the area controlled by Bosnia-Herzegovina police. However, as the column entered occupied Ilidza incidents took place. There are reports that the well-known imported reservists and Serbian terrorists clashed over booty from the barracks.

Defense Minister on Fighting, Territorial Defense

92BA0908A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
28 Apr 92 pp 24-25

[Interview with Jerko Doko by Fahrudin Radoncic in Sarajevo in April: "The Sixth Fleet Will Help Bosnia"—first paragraph is DANAS introduction]

[Text] The Minister of Defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] talks about generals who are criminals, about the fighting in western Herzegovina, about the arming of the B-H Territorial Defense.

The building that houses the B-H Presidency, where the Territorial Defense Staff of the republic is also located, is one of the most famous places in Sarajevo. To come to Jerko Doko's office one must pass through several control points and a search at the entrance. The night before this conversation for DANAS readers, General Kukanjac had threatened Minister Doko with bombardment of the city of Sarajevo, and especially of the Territorial Defense Staff. The former businessman and soccer-playing judge of Mostar is today one of the key persons in resolving the aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In meeting with him, the first question posed was on the formation of the armed forces of the young state and its military defense.

Doko said that in order for a state to truly exist, it must have its own government and armed forces. Even at the beginning we knew from the experiences in Slovenia and Croatia that we will not be able to find a common language with these generals who are criminals, in transforming the forces of the so-called JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] which are stationed in our areas. We assumed, and this, unfortunately, happened, that this Army would not want to recognize the democratically elected government and would not stand up to protect the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We knew that we will have to begin to form our own armed forces.

[Radoncic] The command center of these forces is the Territorial Defense Staff. If I am not mistaken, you are located on the premises of the former Territorial Defense?

[Doko] The day before Bosnia-Herzegovina was recognized internationally, this former staff fled in a cowardly way from these premises. They took all the arms, and, to put it simply, everything they could carry. They acted in the same way they had before, when, on instructions of the so-called JNA, they took the weapons and materiel of the Territorial Defense and, as you know, divided all this among the Serbian people.

[Radoncic] If one judges by the command cadre, the B-H armed forces will be an army of all three constitutive ethnic peoples.

[Doko] Representatives of all three peoples are represented in our commands and units. In three key places (namely, the commandant of the Staff, the chief, and his deputy) are a Muslim, a Serb, and a Croat. But I must say that it is very difficult to create under these conditions a joint army of all peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nevertheless, as matters now stand, we are very satisfied.

[Radoncic] In the policy of Bosnia-Herzegovina, at least up to now, it is not clearly stated who attacked Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Doko] Everyone knows that the war has been imposed on us from Belgrade and that all operations are directed from there. Units of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] are attacking Bosnia-Herzegovina, Arkan and Seselj's terrorist groups brought in from Serbia are carrying out

the aggression, are slaughtering, killing, terrorizing, and destroying entire cities such as Foca, Visegrad, Zvornik, Bijeljina.... Along with this, we are witnesses of the direct participation in the attack on Bosnia-Herzegovina by units of the so-called JNA under the command of the criminal general Jankovic. Events in Bosanski Brod and several other places clearly confirm this. One should add to this also the events in Sarajevo, a city which Karadzic and Krajisnik, its inhabitants up until yesterday, are mercilessly destroying. They are directly commanding the unseen mortar attacks and destruction. In addition to all of them, the "Beli orlovi" [White Eagles], which we have beaten up well, have invaded Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sarajevo. These formations could not have waged war with us for even two days if it were not for the war criminal, General Kukanjac, who stands in front of them and protects them with his tanks and technology. So, these are the aggressors and occupiers of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Radoncic] The highest state organs of B-H have not been so precise in describing [the situation], especially considering the role of the so-called JNA?

[Doko] I know, but this is my terminology; I knew from the first day I was placed in the position of defense minister why I was put in this job: to protect this state and its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

[Radoncic] How do you see the fighting in western Herzegovina?

[Doko] As everywhere else, there are no national or ethnic conflicts of any kind there. The 4th Army District with its two corps in Bileca and Nevesinje are destroying and ruining cities such as Mostar, Capljina, Stolac, Citluk, Siroki Brijeg, Ljubuski.... Everything that is Croatian and Muslim is being destroyed. All operations are being led by a war criminal from Croatia, General Perisic. He obtained the rank of general by destroying Zadar. He told me personally that he is not satisfied with what he achieved in Zadar [i.e. the encirclement was not complete], but that "no one will cross over" here. This has recently been shown in the example of Mostar. Participation of [JNA] army units from Croatia in the war in B-H and their engagement are very direct. This is seen especially in the engagement of the Knin corps in the Kupres plateau. In addition to other things, their task was to destroy the houses of persons who are temporarily working abroad. They themselves decide who had to go abroad to work and of what nationality they were.

[Radoncic] When one speaks of western Herzegovina, there are accusations that the Croatian armed forces are also included in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Doko] The armed forces of the Republic of Croatia, unfortunately, have not been involved.

[Radoncic] Why do you say "unfortunately"?

[Doko] Because they could not help us, for the simple reason that they have their hands full with these criminals and their own theater of operations. The simple fact is that they are our people, Croats and Muslims, who fought in the theater of operations in Croatia and returned to their homes in order to defend them from aggression and destruction. If anyone, because of this, believes that these are units from Croatia, they are thoroughly mistaken.

[Radoncic] In a directive presenting the views of your ministry to the public, you say that one should avoid attacking the so-called JNA as a whole, but rather "one should always turn to the uninformed parts of the army which are well-intentioned and do not support the illegal, terrorist, and criminal actions." What do you want to achieve with this?

[Doko] We are in the process of demolishing the remnants of the so-called JNA and are trying to open their eyes and give those JNA members who have not bloodied their hands against their own people a last chance. This is the essence of the above-mentioned instructions.

[Radoncic] All of Bosnia and Hercegovina is, practically speaking, occupied. How will you liberate the territory of your state?

[Doko] As soon as the so-called JNA attacked Slovenia, and then Croatia, it was clear that the armed forces which we had fed and generously financed for decades had placed itself on the side of Greater Serbia. Considering its technical and armed strength, it will be shown in the end that it is only possible to fight power with power. And since we, as other peoples, have no power of our own, I feel the only solution is for the Sixth Fleet to come into the Adriatic.

[Radoncic] You are thinking of foreign military intervention?

[Doko] I am convinced that it will come to this. Until then we will not surrender to the aggressor and occupier. Thus, we in Sarajevo have succeeded in defending ourselves entirely with our bare hands. So I am grateful to all the units which are bravely fighting throughout the area of Bosnia-Hercegovina. People are truly fighting heroically. The latest example of this is in Ilidza, a suburb of Sarajevo. In only two hours we beat back a much stronger enemy, and if the criminal Kukanjac had not entered in with his tanks, we would have completely liberated Ilidza.

[Radoncic] Can it be easier to obtain foreign military intervention as a victim rather than as a warring side?

[Doko] No, one must resist to the end. Because if we did not want to offer resistance, the people would not agree to this. One cannot sit with folded hands and endure terrible aggression and the unbelievable killing of innocent people and civilians.

[Radoncic] According to your personal estimate, when will there be foreign military intervention, or to what degree must the conflicts escalate before there is such intervention?

[Doko] It is very important that the United States and the European Community become politically involved. They themselves have seen the things that are happening, and what happens immediately after their political representatives arrive in Sarajevo and other places. Simply, as soon as they board the airplane [to leave], the aggression brutally continues. Everything is now clear to them and nothing can any longer be hidden from them. They know very well who the aggressor is and who are defending themselves. Unfortunately, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has still not publicly and in a unified way taken a position on this. In fact, certain members of the Presidency, including the president, in their statements know to say who is who. As defense minister and head of this ministry, I have submitted a proposal to the Presidency and to the government that the so-called JNA be decisively named as the aggressor and occupier, because that is what it is, and that the SDS group be named the terrorist forces.

[Radoncic] You are not only defense minister but also a politician. Do you want to tell us what are the political reasons for the tardiness in calling things by their real name and clearly describing them?

[Doko] Perhaps there is only one explanation. Namely, only about 15 days have passed since the formation of our armed forces and probably it is expected that we are not strong enough to be able to resist a more powerful aggressor. I think that the B-H Presidency in a day or two will decide in favor of our proposal. I will repeat these demands also at the first meeting of the government.

[Radoncic] Without any exaggeration, most of the inhabitants want international military assistance.

[Doko] Correct. The reason for this lies in our unpreparedness for war and the fact that foreign aggression, from Serbia and Montenegro, is being carried out against us. The so-called JNA and terrorist groups which have been brought in are coming directly from these republics. If the forces of the so-called JNA would withdraw, the three largest ethnic peoples would very easily agree on life here in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and this is a state in which we have been living together for centuries. The biggest problem is Milosevic's appetite for conquering the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is a question of a war of conquest. The world knows this. Personally, I have reliable information that those who have recognized us as a sovereign state will not permit us to be destroyed by military conquerors. Also, my information is that Serbia, whether it wants to or not, will soon have to officially recognize an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Radoncic] What will this possible recognition bring?

[Doko] The Army will have to leave B-H. The government will be reinstated on our entire territory. B-H will exist as a state with all its institutions, police, and armed forces. But the road to this will not be easy, many more victims will fall, and many more beastly killings and more devastation will occur. In the meantime, until Bosnia-Herzegovina is liberated, much patience and sacrifice will still be needed.

[Radoncic] How are the regular armed forces of the new state being armed?

[Doko] There are many sources and we will make use of all of them. Here, you see these telegrams representing monetary assistance from abroad and from Bosnia-Herzegovina itself. There is no problem in purchasing weapons, but there is a problem in delivering them.

[Radoncic] What comment do you have on the fact that it is persistently being spread from Belgrade and SDS circles that it is not a question of aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but rather of an ethnic war?

[Doko] This is pure manipulation, in order to wage aggression under the empty phrase of an ethnic war. There is no ethnic war of any kind and the best denial of this [ethnic war] is the large number of Serbian inhabitants who have joined the republic's territorial defense, concretely in Sarajevo. They have stood in defense of this city. Leaders of the SDS identify themselves with the entire Serbian people which is not correct, and it would not have happened if the SDS did not have the Army and Milosevic behind them, because the leaders of these terrorist parties are cowards and weaklings. The so-called JNA has the same goals as the SDS. The generals are now fighting for their bare existence and their privileges which they have had for 50 years, and which no one in these premises will have any more, nor will our armed forces, which we are now forming.

[Radoncic] What kind of forces will they be?

[Doko] They will be placed on a rational basis. The army, as I see it, will be only a force in the service of the civilian government. Even now the Territorial Defense Staff was formed as an organizational unit of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Radoncic] Nevertheless, most Territorial Defense officers have fled from the so-called JNA. Can they, with their professional education, create a modern Bosnia-Herzegovina army or will you have to seek assistance?

[Doko] I have already said that our army will be under the direct control of the civil authorities and of the Defense Ministry. We plan to accept into our units and barracks all officers who express their loyalty to the government and who support it.

Here they are to carry out professionally the tasks for which they were trained; and politics and ideology will no longer be given consideration. It is at present difficult to speak more explicitly about other more concrete thoughts. Simply, no one knows what tomorrow brings.

But, it is entirely sure, if I am asked, that we will try to have an effective professional army and a military training that is as short as possible.

[Radoncic] Finally, how do you personally foresee the outcome with the JNA and its political mentors?

[Doko] The worst national curse is being realized: I hope they start worrying about themselves. The day is not far off when the generals will turn also against Milosevic and when conflict between themselves will escalate. This will be the end, and the same military collapse will be repeated as happened to the old Yugoslav army in World War II.

Bosanska Krajina Leader on Serb-Muslim Conflict

92BA0912A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
9-10 May 92 p 3

[Interview with Vinko Stupar, president of the Serbian National Council for Bosanska Krajina, by B. Solesa; place and date not given: "Serbs and Muslims in a Spinning Wheel of Senselessness"—first paragraph is BORBA introduction]

[Text] If more care had been taken, this conflict between Serbs and Muslims would not have happened; this is the first time that Serbs, on the orders of their leaders, have engaged in conflict with Muslims, and vice versa; the Serbian Republic of Krajina and Bosanska Krajina are one ethnic and social unit, and whoever dares to establish a rigid border there will have a conflict on his hands.

Bihac—Vinko Stupar, president of the Serbian National Council in Bosanska Krajina and the initiator of the constitutional assembly of Bosanska Krajina, which should grow into a republic that would be merged with the Serbian Krajina Republic, explains the Bosnian disagreements and the awakening of "Krajina separatism." Thirty-year-old engineer Stupar, from Bosanski Petrovac, has considerably different views of the Bosnia-Herzegovina situation than other Serbian political leaders.

[Solea] How do you view Karadzic's positions on Bosnia-Herzegovina, and how does it affect Bosanska Krajina?

[Stupar] Privately, I value him very much as a person, but from the very beginning I have not agreed with his political platform. Actually, he did not even have one, since he always waited to see what Alija Izetbegovic would do, and only reacted afterwards. The Serbs paid for this on the Bosnia-Herzegovina political scene. Politics cannot be conducted by waiting to see what the opponent will do; instead, as in chess, one has to prepare several moves in advance.

It was precisely on that political scene that the Serbs lost everything, and did not have anything left but to go to war. There are also other circumstances in international

politics with respect to the creation of a new world order, which influenced that position of ours, but I think that the main guilt lies with our leadership, especially Karadzic, who was too concerned about what Belgrade would do. He did not involve people in the field—here I am thinking particularly of Bosanska Krajina, which did not have a single ministerial or deputy position in the Bosnia-Herzegovina government and the Assembly, which collapsed. Krajina was ignored, and everything came down to one person. Tying things to one individual like that is dangerous. If more care had been taken, I think that the senseless conflict between Muslims and Serbs would not have occurred. This is the first time that Serbs, on orders from their leaders, have engaged in conflict with Muslims, and vice versa. Viewed in terms of history, it has always been a conflict in which someone drove the Muslims against the Serbs. The Muslim leaders are most responsible for this, but the Serbian leaders should have pointed out where such a policy was leading.

The Una Is Not a Border

[Solea] It could be seen from the replacement of Andjelko Grahovac that there was not much agreement on this between Krajina (Bosnian) political leaders and Radovan Karadzic. Why did that happen?

[Stupar] I was also the president of the Serbian National Council of Bosanska Krajina at that time, and Andjelko Grahovac's position actually should have been mine. I belonged to a faction that we can call independent, however. This influenced the fact that certain people were pushing for Andjelko Grahovac to become premier of the Bosanska Krajina community of opstinas. It turned out that this was not a mistake, because Andjelko Grahovac also had his own original approach, and actually conducted the kind of policy that people in Bosanska Krajina wanted. He advocated the unification of Bosanska Krajina and the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], and cooperated to a considerable extent with Milan Babic, who was the RSK's president at that time. The "Grahovac Declaration" itself indicates that he followed that policy, which did not suit the official Serbian policy, if such a thing exists. On orders from Belgrade, through Karadzic, he had to be replaced. This was done by the old communist method. Karadzic simply said, "Invent something for him, but he cannot be that any longer." All the attempts by people who were working on unification of the Krajinas were suppressed. That is what also happened with Grahovac. With his departure, not a single decision by the autonomous region of Bosanska Krajina has gone into effect.

[Solea] Once Academician Jovan Raskovic, the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] president for what was then Croatia, spoke about the same Krajina mentality, and the need for the creation of a strong joint Krajina in which western Serbdom would be united. What are that

idea's chances in this critical situation, when the independence of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina has been recognized, but relations in them have not yet been defined?

[Stupar] When the SDS was advocating that, I was always speaking out myself, along with Academician Raskovic. I said that the Una was not a border between the two Krajinas, because one people was involved. How can one draw a border between those in Strmica kod Knina and those in Bosansko Grahovo when they see each other, talk to each other, and work together? It is an ethnic and social unit, and whoever dares to establish a rigid border there will have a conflict on his hands. That people has had an eternal desire to live together, but it was divided by politics during the time of Josip Broz in particular. It was actually the destruction of a solid Serbian fabric. I am amazed that official Serbian politics recognized the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders and put its signature on it. The Serbian people in the Krajinas will not allow that rigid border.

Perhaps someone sees a better political solution, but I do not see any more realistic one than the unification of those two Krajinas. Prof. Raskovic advocated a united Krajina from the very beginning, but he was also tripped up by the people with a communist orientation. It would be a mistake to say that he was blocked by the communists, because there are also some people among them who are in favor of a united Krajina, and who are democrats in their own way. Those forces thought that we were working for secession, but they wanted a unified Yugoslavia, and so they worked on downplaying those Serbs who wanted some sort of "secessionist Krajina." Krajina would actually be a democratic state with all civil freedoms. We know that it would be ethnically Serbian, since the Serbs are a majority in it, but others would also be satisfied in that state with about 2 million inhabitants. It would be the second strongest Serbian state, which would eliminate any thought of an attack by unitarianism or Islamic fundamentalism, but in which everyone would enjoy full civil rights.

Unfortunately, Blood Was Shed

[Solea] You mentioned that the leaders drove Serbs and Muslims into a conflict for the first time. What are the differences and similarities of the positions of those two peoples, and the possibilities for their relations in the future?

[Stupar] They are similar in their ethnic basis, because Tito, as a "national alchemist," invented the religion's becoming a nation. They gained a nation, and started to advocate their own state. An independent Bosnia-Herzegovina is nothing more than the fulfillment of the Islamic dream. That should be discussed openly....

[Solea] How can one formulate that question, without being insulting to the Muslims?

[Stupar] The Muslims have to realize that themselves, because advocating Bosnia-Herzegovina, i.e., some sort of Islamic state in the Balkans and in Europe, was their big mistake. It is in the interest of the great powers to split up Yugoslavia and Serbdom in particular, and they are using the Muslims for this, although it is obvious that they are only taking advantage of them. There are honest Muslims who see this, but they are currently paralyzed and cannot act politically. Unfortunately, blood has already been shed. The Serbs should have been a little more flexible, and should not have responded to their provocations. What happened, has happened. Now it is necessary to work politically on both sides. Those peoples are intertwined into a mosaic of Serbs and Muslims, and very rarely Croats as well. If anyone should have tied their flags together at the election rallies, it was the Serbs and the Muslims, and not the Croats and the Muslims.

Thanks to the fact that the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] policy is headed by people like Alija Izetbegovic, Muhamed Cengic, and Ejub Ganic, that was out of the question. They drove their people into great trouble, and the dream of an Islamic state will not be fulfilled. It is true that there are fewer Serbs than Muslims now, but one should know that the Serbs own 63 percent of the registered land, and that is good evidence of whose land it is. That state cannot be realized in practice if the Serbs do not want it, and they certainly do not want a Bosnia-Herzegovina government that would be against them.

[Solea] What are Bosanska Krajina's prospects in independent Bosnia-Herzegovina?

Advocacy of a Confederation

[Stupar] The laws of independent Bosnia-Herzegovina will never go into effect in Bosanska Krajina. From the smallest child to grandmothers, everyone is against a

policy that would make the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Krajina into a minority. That will not work.

[Solea] The JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], which is the instrument of Serbia's policy, according to international factors, is leaving Bosnia-Herzegovina. How will that departure be worked out, and how will it specifically take place in Bosanska Krajina?

[Stupar] The JNA has that Yugoslav name, but it no longer has either Muslims or Croats in it. Only Serbs are left. The new Yugoslavia consists of Serbia and Montenegro, and the officers born in those regions will go there, while those from Bosnia-Herzegovina will stay. Defending themselves along with the soldiers, they will also defend the Serbs and all those who live in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Krajina. The Army will fit into the policy that will be conducted in Bosanska Krajina.

[Solea] Are you actually advocating a confederate Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Stupar] From day one, we have been in favor of Bosanska Krajina as a republic within a Bosnia-Herzegovina confederation.

[Solea] Essentially, the SDS and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] are advocating the same thing in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The HDZ is talking about regionalization, and the SDS about cantonization. The difference is only in terms, and not in substance. Why, then, is there a dispute between the SDS and the HDZ?

[Stupar] Mr. Nikola Koljevic conducted talks with HDZ representatives, but they proposed one thing, did another thing, and thought a third. We do not dispute the fact that western Herzegovina is Croatian. Our mistake is that we did not demand what we want from the world a long time ago.

UNPROFOR 'Gradually' Taking Over Slavonia

LD2705135992 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1238 GMT 27 May 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Erdut, May 27 (TANJUG)—The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Yugoslavia is gradually taking over control in the region of Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem, UNPROFOR Commander Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar said on Wednesday.

General Nambiar said this following talks with representatives of the civilian authorities in that Serb region within the administrative borders of Croatia and commander of the Novi Sad Corps of the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Lieutenant General Andrija Biorcevic.

The region of eastern Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem is part of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), which comprises Serb-populated municipalities in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. The RSK was proclaimed in reaction to secessionist moves by the Croatian authorities and their attempt to downgrade the status of Serbs from that of a nation to that of an ethnic minority. The United Nations peace plan provides for the deployment of UNPROFOR on the RSK territory until a lasting political settlement has been reached.

General Nambiar said that he and representatives of the civilian authorities of that Serb region had focused on UNPROFOR's taking over control in the region, as well as on problems in connection with the expulsion of Croats from the region.

General Biorcevic pointed out that units of the Yugoslav Army and the Croatian Army were withdrawing simultaneously from the sector covered by his corps, according to plan. The Yugoslav Army has always advocated that a just solution be reached, said General Biorcevic, adding that the army's current activities were in the interest of all.

Sisak Officials Oppose UNPROFOR Deployment

LD2705173192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 27 May 92

[Report by Branko Kanjizaj]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The forthcoming deployment of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] units is still being much discussed in Sisak, as well as in other parts of the area. In this regard a meeting was held at the Sisak municipal assembly that was attended by representatives of the Croatian Army, the police administration of the Sisak municipal assembly, and the Croatian Government commissioners for Glina, Petrinja, Hrvatska Kostajnica, and Dvor na Uni. Sisak Mayor Zeljko Malinac spoke on the conclusions of the meeting.

[Begin Malinac recording] Being aware that the question of peace and the return of refugees is extremely complex in the Sisak and Banija area, since the cease-fire is constantly and flagrantly being violated on both sides of the defense front with the greatest cease-fire violations in Croatia recorded here over the past 15 days and with a fierce attack last night on Sunja and the southern industrial zone, we have adopted the following conclusions at our meeting today that will be sent to UNPROFOR Commander Satish Nambiar:

We do not agree to the UNPROFOR deployment in the municipality of Sisak;

We are proposing that the UNPROFOR deployment should not be carried out in ethnically pure Croatian areas of Banija, in light of the fact that a small number of forces have arrived in this area;

An immediate dispersion of the UNPROFOR forces should be carried out throughout the remaining occupied areas;

We are asking that activities of the UNPROFOR units be speeded up to a maximum degree in the sense of taking over responsibility in the envisaged areas;

We are asking for firmer contacts with UNPROFOR representatives and are proposing that meetings with UNPROFOR representatives be attended in addition to representatives of the Croatian Army by representatives of the police and the municipal civilian authorities. [end recording]

UNPROFOR Commander Leaves For Osijek

LD2705145992 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1314 GMT 27 May 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Erdut, May 27 (TANJUG)—Commander of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Yugoslavia Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar left for the Croatian town of Osijek on Wednesday to meet with representatives of the Croatian authorities and the Army of that former Yugoslav republic and discuss with them UNPROFOR's taking over control in the region.

Osijek is situated close to the U.N. protection area (UNPA) of eastern Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem, one of the Serb-populated regions included in the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK).

Under the U.N. peace plan, the territory of the RSK will be under UNPROFOR's control until a political solution has been reached.

General Nambiar, head of the civilian component of UNPROFOR, Irish diplomat Cedric Thornberry and another five UNPROFOR officials are expected to visit the west Slavonian sector.

Tens of thousands of Serbs have fled that region trying to avoid genocide by the Croatian authorities.

Official Notes UNPROFOR Deployment Problems

LD2705132692 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1038 GMT 27 May 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 27 (TANJUG)—The deployment of United Nations Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) in Yugoslavia is being slowed down as a result of the problem of budget and the "logic of warfare on both sides," Cedric Thornberry, head of the civilian component of UNPROFOR, said in an interview published by the Belgrade daily POLITIKA on Wednesday. Thornberry drew special attention to difficulties in deploying U.N. troops in Sector East, i.e. the Serb region of Baranja.

Baranja is a part the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) which has been proclaimed by Serbs within the administrative borders of breakaway Croatia. Under the U.N. peace plan, UNPROFOR troops are to be deployed on the territory of the RSK.

"The Yugoslav People's Army had a role of stabilizer in Sector East over the past few months. Now that it is withdrawing, different kind of people—good, evil, ugly—are trying to fill up the vacuum," said Thornberry.

The agreed Yugoslav Army pull-out from Serb-populated regions of Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem is temporarily discontinued because the Croatian authorities are violating the agreement. As soon as the Yugoslav Army began to pull out from the regions, which are part of the RSK, the Croatian Army concentrated troops on the front line and started to open fire. The peace plan proposed by Cyrus Vance, envoy of U.N. Secretary-General Butrus-Ghali, envisages that only local police should remain on the territory of the RSK once the U.N. peace-keepers have been deployed.

"The current operation in Sector East is being carried out in keeping with chapter six of the U.N. Charter, and we have an agreement by the warring sides there, as well as a limited number of lightly armed troops to help realize the agreement," said Thornberry.

"The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, is something completely different. It is characterized by violence as well as by anarchy. It is extremely difficult to achieve any agreement there, even a partial one," said Thornberry. "If you do not have at least a limited agreement between the warring sides, UNPROFOR is unable to act under Chapter Six of the U.N. Charter," said Thornberry.

Inter-ethnic clashes have been raging for nearly two months in Bosnia-Herzegovina, one of the former Yugoslav republics in which Moslems make up 44 percent of the population, Serbs 32 percent and Croats 17 percent. Clashes erupted after the three constitutive peoples

failed to reach agreement on a future system in the republic. Bosnia-Herzegovina's early recognition on April 7 triggered clashes throughout the republic.

UN Official Responds to Bias Charges

AU2705122892 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
18 May 92 p 4

[S. Radulovic report: "Unfounded Allegations"]

[Text] Knin—The suspicions in Krajina regarding the objectivity of the EC monitoring mission, for which, to be truthful, there are grounds, are also beginning to accompany the activities of the UNPROFOR. There are rumors about the presence of "infiltrated Ustashi" in the ranks of the blue helmets and about their intention to protect Croats and Croatian villages only. Milan Martić, minister for internal affairs, has recently made serious allegations, among others, that the members of the peace forces have been filming Serbian positions and then sending the film either to Croatian television, or handing them over to the Croatian side, which resulted in the increased effectiveness of Croatian artillery in pounding Serbian positions. According to him, this was the case in Benkovac and Dvor na Uni. Not a long time passed between the bread-and-salt [traditional offering of goodwill] hospitality towards the peace forces, and the first suspicions about their intentions, leading to additional difficulties in the already tense atmosphere.

Kenyan Brigadier General Arap Rob, commander for the south sector of the UNPROFOR for Krajina, said in his statement for BORBA: "I can only say that Mr. Martić's allegations are unfounded. Martić first made them in Knin on 22 April, when our commander, General Satish Nambiar was visiting the area. I demanded evidence from Martić, but have not yet received a reply. There are rumors that the members of the French battalion have occupied the area near Karina and that they have taken a position near the Catholic church there in order to protect it. That is not true. The location that has been chosen for them is in a former tourist resort, and the church is about a 100 meters away. I also want to underline again that the UNPROFOR is not an occupying army. Our only aim is to contribute to bringing peace back to this region. I do not exclude the possibility that there are Croats in some units, as is said about the French battalion, but they are citizens of France serving in the French Army as Frenchmen or French citizens of some other nationality. In any case, such unfounded allegations against the UNPROFOR do not serve to improve mutual confidence, which is one of the main prerequisites for the success of our mission. Confidence and cooperation are essential if we are to ensure that everyone lives in peace. If there are any misunderstandings, then it is best we solve them through talks and negotiations."

Asked about the objections to the distribution of the UNPROFOR, and the demands of the Krajina authorities that they should cover the area along the front line, General Rob said that he realized that the front line in some parts was far from the UNPA, but that the troops could not be distributed against the agreement, which had been signed by both warring sides.

"I understand that there is a problem there, but I cannot overstep my authority. I have informed my superiors about all this, and I am sure that my information has been passed on to New York. The Krajina authorities have also been taking appropriate steps. I am still waiting for a reply. If it does come to a change in the plan for the distribution of the UNPROFOR, and if both sides agree, I will follow my orders," General Rob said.

Asked to comment on the cooperation of the civilian and military authorities, General Rob said that it had been satisfactory, apart from the allegations made by Minister Martić. He added that Viktor Andrejev, civil coordinator for the south sector, had spoken to Martić about his allegations and that he hoped that this misunderstanding would be overcome. General Rob's only complaint regarded, in his words, the insufficient cooperation of the ministry of internal affairs of Krajina with the UN civil police.

'Terrorist Groups' Try To Infiltrate Krajina

LD2705142892 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1242 GMT 27 May 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Vukovar, May 27 (TANJUG)—Croatian forces attempted to infiltrate terrorist groups into the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina in the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, Serb defence sources said on Wednesday. Zoran Vranesević, the head of Vukovar's Territorial Defence Headquarters, told journalists that a group of Croatian combatants attempted to infiltrate the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina near Vukovar, located in eastern Slavonia near the border with Serbia. The group was stopped. There were no casualties among Serb territorials, he added.

The Republic of Serb Krajina was formed in response to Croatia's secession in the areas of this former Yugoslav republic where Serbs make up a majority. The United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) is currently deploying in these areas under a U.N. plan.

A group of Croatian saboteurs was caught by UNPROFOR troops, who forced them back, the source said.

A Croatian saboteur was caught by the villagers in Mirkovci, near Vukovar, and handed over to the police. A third group has also been uncovered.

The Croatian forces have not still fulfilled even the first phase of an agreement on UNPROFOR's deployment

which provides for a withdrawal of heavy armament and combat units to positions 30 km from the demarcation line, military sources say.

Council Statement on Situation Highlighted

LD2705144292 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1356 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Zagreb, May 27 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Army will be "forced to use all the means at its disposal in order to liberate the last foot of Croatian land," said the Supreme Council of the former Yugoslav republic in Zagreb on Wednesday.

This course will be taken "in the event that the aggressor Army does not withdraw from the occupied territories on time," said a Supreme Council statement following a session attended by Croatian President Franjo Tuđman.

By aggressor army, the secessionist authorities in Croatia mean units of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), which in accordance with United Nations agreements, are gradually withdrawing to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which consists of the territories of Serbia and Montenegro.

The Supreme Council underscored that "the withdrawal of the Army from the occupied territories must be carefully monitored, and without any provocations which could give the JNA cause for further attacks and a reason to stay."

The Croatian authorities admit that they do not control a third of the republic's territory.

The Supreme Council has "agreed with the proposal put forth by the president of the Parliamentary Commission for War Victims, that considering the growing number of discovered pits and generally regarding the remains of World War Two victims, all these remains be transferred to Jasenovac."

The statement does not specify who was killed in Jasenovac and "generally" the number of victims involved.

Jasenovac, a village on the Sava River in central Croatia, is called the "largest Serbian city underground" by the Serbs because according to official figures, 700,000 Serbs died in the concentration camps in Jasenovac during World War Two. They were killed by the Quisling authorities of the "independent state of Croatia" which was created under the auspices of Nazi Germany.

SRK Prime Minister Zečević Interviewed

92BA0913E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
12 May 92 p 12

[Interview with Prime Minister Zdravko Zečević of the Serbian Republic of Krajina by Radovan Kozacević; place and date not given: "From Inferno of War to Challenge of Reconstruction"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] Salt and bread for the blue helmets is like giving them *carte blanche*. The aim of a government of professionals without party commitments is—professionalism. The tragic fate of Serbs in Croatian cities with no prospects for improvement.

"The people of Krajina, from the highlanders in the northern Dalmatia, through Lika and Banija to Baranya, face uncertainty and trouble, but they are alive! This situation is difficult, despite their courage and self-consciousness, because the people are suspicious: that someone might ruin Krajina as a foolhardy trick in the 'rearrangement' of Europe?! Nevertheless, we have no other choice but to fight and work," says Zdravko Zecevic, prime minister of the SRK [Serbian Republic of Krajina]. An agronomist from Ravno kotar and the top man in Benkovac opstina, with two years of war experience ("In July of 1990, the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] government tried to take away our police weaponry by surprise, but the people rose up, and since then there has been no peace, nor will there be any until we are left alone!"), captivates with dynamism and operative ability. These are perhaps the two basic qualities of the man who will use his current mandate to create a government of professionals that, for the first time in the history of Krajina, will answer to its own Assembly. The lack of party commitments and regional biases is one of the most important principles on which its activities are based. Knin has become the capital, at least for this purpose, while the area at the fortress dominated by the Krke and Zrmanje watershed has been converted into a sort of Krajina observation post.

Blue Helmets—Intruders in the Monastery

The defense of Krajina is the foremost duty of the government right now, and will no doubt remain so for years to come. Zdravko Zecevic, together with representatives of Yugoslavia, has traveled to the United States in order to clarify the needs of the blue helmets. Thus far, around half of the peacekeeping force has arrived, and like all armed forces in the world, they are improvising in ways that stick out like a sore thumb.

"In Karin, which is part of Krajina's outlet on the Adriatic, they wandered into some abandoned Catholic monastery, intending to move into it. We lodged a sharp protest with the commander of the French detachment; people here are very sensitive about the desecration of churches! And anyway, I am not an advocate of welcoming the blue helmets with bread and salt, because to me that is like giving *carte blanche* to those who are supposed to bring order to our home...."

According to the established position of the Krajina government, the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] forces must be deployed along the ethnic border. Until then, the units of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and TO [Territorial Defense Force] will not withdraw, which is [word unclear] confirmed by the minister of defense, Col. Stojan Spanovic, citing the critical conditions for demobilization of the Krajinans.

Demarcating the border will be difficult, from village to village, whereby Krajina will insist on respecting the actual situation. Among other things, this means that the village of Smokovic, for example, which is only 12 km from Zadar, cannot be handed over to Croatia, because its (Serb) population has to the last man declared what side it wants to stay on, in part through its arms. But similarly, Krajina cannot leave the Serb population in Gora kotar in the lurch, nor the people in other areas where the expression of popular will by referendum was carried out precisely according to Croatian laws, even before the main military clashes!

"After all, we will hold another referendum if necessary. The Serbs in the SRK may have lost their bearings in some things, and I concede that there have been mistakes, but there is one thing about which they are firmly convinced—they will never again return to Croatia, no matter what form it takes."

"We Know Who Is Out To Get Us"

At the same time, this is also the Mr. Zecevic's position towards the Law on the Rights of Minorities, which the Croatian Assembly adopted in emergency session. According to him, the Banal Palace is going along with the formation of two *srezes* with a majority Serb population—Knin and Glina.

"If, with the help of the UN peacekeeping forces, Croatian authority is not established in the territory with a Serb majority," Vladimir Seks declared at the time, "then the Croatian state will have to do so by force, regardless of the victims."

Zecevic has this to say about that: "We are for peace, we have faith in UNPROFOR, but we know quite well who is out to get us and who will provoke war again. We do not want what others have, but we will not give up what we have to anyone, not at any price.... In addition, I must point out the tragic fate of Serbs in Croatian cities. From Zadar, for example, more than 80 percent of our people had to flee under conditions of terror, and their homes were demolished and plundered. The same is true in other cities. In our area, however, villages that were not bases for the Croatian forces were left untouched: for example, Popovici, Lisicic, Bruska..."

"The people," Zecevic says, "will have to completely reorient themselves towards self-defense. With guns in the farm fields! Friends from Israel are already passing their experience on to the Krajinans...."

Neither Chetniks nor Partisans

Another essential goal of the government, Zecevic says, is to establish a solid legal system. The numerous war crimes must be cleared up. It must be determined who recently killed six people as they slept in Podgradina, near Islam Grcki. There are indications that this was a crime committed by Croatian terrorists.

Besides the wartime successes, which are predominantly identified with the numerous victories by the Knin Corps on the 600-kilometer front extending from central Lika and Velebit through Dalmatia all the way to Kupres, Krajina has already achieved some purely peaceful results. The first school year with the new curriculum is drawing to an end. The majority of the country is under cultivation ("If it were not for the fuel shortage, which has been going on for a month now, even an inch of field would not have remained unplanted..."). Industrial production must recuperate. Solutions are being sought for importing electric energy from Serbia. The health care system passed all the tests of professionalism and humanity under the extremely difficult combat conditions. Preparations are already being made to found the first institutions of higher learning in Krajina, for the study of economic management and teaching. It will be very hard to overcome the consequences of the disinvestment policy imposed by the Croatian government over the course of decades, because of which the Serbian regions were mostly left undeveloped. But Krajina has natural resources, people, support from Serbia and the Serbian Republic of B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina], so that although in many things it is starting at square one, it is setting out its own course.

Because of all this, Zecevic avoids discussing the Krajina political splits, factions, and the struggle for ministerial posts.

"We need every person. This is not the time for us to split into hard-liners or soft-liners, into Chetniks or Partisans. Krajina must create forces that will always be a solid defensive mainstay for it. We are convinced, or at least I am, that 300 top-notch, professional soldiers are worth more than a thousand volunteers. We intend to apply the same principle of high professionalism everywhere, especially in the economy...."

[Box, p 12]

From the Danube to the Adriatic

Only a democratic expression of will can show whether Krajina has the leadership that suits it, says Zdravko Zecevic, adding that this applies to his government as well.

"We are here temporarily, by virtue of the calamities of war. But elections will be organized as soon as possible. From the Danube to the Adriatic, because all of this is our Krajina which, after the wartime madness, expects reconstruction...."

Russian Consul in Zagreb Views Crisis

92BA0924B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
12 May 92

[Article by Mihailo Nicota including interview with Jurij S. Girenko, consul general, Russian Federation; place and date not given—first three paragraphs are DANAS introduction]

[Text] The Croatian public is of two minds about the official stand of Russia regarding events taking place in the region of the former Yugoslavia. This dilemma was highlighted during the past few days when our media reported on the alleged resistance of the Russian representative, at the Helsinki meeting of the CSCE [Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe], towards a stronger condemnation of and the expulsion of "Yugoslavia" from this Pan-European organization. This prompted us to seek reliable answers from a proper source: Is Moscow inclined more towards Belgrade, does it support Serbia and the "third Yugoslavia" at the cost of the independent and sovereign states that have emerged on the territory of the former Yugoslavia?

Jurij S. Girenko (56) was certainly the most reliable person to answer our questions and to clear up our dilemma. He has been in Zagreb for the past two years serving as consul general, first for the Soviet Union, and now for the Russian Federation. He is an interesting interlocutor with a vast knowledge of, in his words, "Yugoslav movements and history." He is unusual, in the sense that he is Ukrainian by nationality, born in Kiev in 1936, and is now a diplomatic representative of Russia.

He came to Moscow in 1953, where he studied at the Institute for International Relations. He wanted to devote himself to America, but during his studies in 1956, when Khrushchev improved relations with Tito, an order came "from above" and he turned his studies to Yugoslavia and learned the "Yugoslav language." Only later did he realize that there was no such language, and that what he did learn, and he learned it well, was then called the "Serbo-Croatian language." This determined his fate and career: From 1959 until 1965 he served at the Soviet Embassy in Belgrade, where he passed through all the diplomatic levels and even gained a doctorate for his studies of the relations between Tito and Stalin. These studies resulted in a book, released last year, entitled *Stalin-Tito*. Meanwhile, he served as a translator at the highest levels: He was a simultaneous translator at all of the meetings and conversations that took place between Brezhnev and Tito, and he continued in that capacity even during Gorbachev's last visit to Yugoslavia in 1988.

[Nicota] Will the present consulate general become the embassy of the Russian Federation, and if so, when?

[Girenko] The consulate general in Zagreb can become an embassy only after diplomatic relations have been established between Russia and Croatia. In accordance with the Vienna convention of 1961, this should be the next step after international recognition. Proceeding upon recognition of the basic principle of international law, which gives the right of self-determination to the people, Russia recognized Croatia and Slovenia in mid-February, and towards the end of April it recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina as well. The Russian Government, faithful to democratic values, understands the rights of Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as Macedonia, to create their own states. It also judges,

equally positive, the will of the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro to live in a common state.

[Nicota] Why haven't diplomatic relations been established already? And why the foot-dragging?

[Girenko] Personally, I think that we will not be able to open embassies in capitals of all the states which are now legal successors of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. But, this decision is not being dictated by the political situation alone, not at all, but rather because of financial circumstances. The situation in my country is such that we must be frugal in everything, including diplomacy. Recently, President Yeltsin for instance, issued a regulation concerning the closing down of 11 embassies in Africa. The distribution of the diplomatic "points" of Russia, as well as their level, in regard to the Yugoslav territory will be solved in accordance with our limited financial capabilities, and in agreement with the final political-governmental separation which results in the region as a consequence of the overall solution of the Yugo-crisis.

[Nicota] According to some information, Russia opposed, in Helsinki, a stronger condemnation of Serbia and the Yugo-army for the present war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What is Moscow's stand towards violence, destruction, and genocide in that state, which are now reaching horrid proportions?

[Girenko] Russia is very concerned about the escalation of violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are deeply disturbed by the dramatic developments in the situation there. Further escalation, where ethnic conflicts could grow into an overall conflict, poses not only a real danger for the countries of the region, but also for international peace and security. We recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina, trusting that such a move would help bring the warring parties to conciliation. Unfortunately, that did not happen. This is why the international community must, without delay, help stop the bloodshed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by putting into motion appropriate mechanisms available to the UN and the CSCE. Searching for a balanced and constructive approach to the complex "knot" of ethnic-religious incongruities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Russian delegation at the Helsinki session contributed to an objective and unbiased effort to develop a solution aimed at protecting all sides involved in the conflict, but still respecting their individual interests.

[Nicota] How can escalation of the conflict be prevented?

[Girenko] Russian diplomats are doing everything possible to stop the fighting, to stop further development of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We consider it necessary that all the peoples living in this republic restrain from using force and that they direct their efforts toward an integrated solution, through peaceful means only, and by taking into account the interests of all three ethnic communities. Stirring up ethnic intolerance, igniting religious hatred, demonizing the enemy, and the use of

language full of dictates and threats definitely do not belong to the arsenal of democratic values which the international community is trying to establish for a civilized coexistence on this planet. In our opinion, there are no situations or conflicts that cannot be solved successfully through goodwill and mutual compromise. The only road to solving this situation lies in direct negotiations between all sides within the framework of an international conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina mediated by the European Community.

[Nicota] What are your views on the war in Croatia? Why did it start, could it have been prevented, and how will it end?

[Girenko] Whatever the reasons that started the war in Croatia, it certainly resulted from a score of objective and subjective circumstances, similar to those that caused the breakup of the Soviet Union, a multinational community. However, this process has been largely a peaceful one in my country since the leaders of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] pledged to solve any conflicts through negotiation and without force. With this approach, I see a guarantee that the Yugoslavization, as we call it, of ethnic relations could not occur within the CIS.

[Nicota] What are the perspectives for establishing peace in the Yugo-region?

[Girenko] In my opinion, the situation is now much clearer than it was a few months ago. We believe that the Brussels conference on Yugoslavia, and the minisessions held in Lisbon with the leaders of the three ethnic communities of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the EC as mediator, made sufficient progress so that an overall solution to the Yugo-crisis can be perceived.

The peacekeeping forces of the UN, operation UNPROFOR, in which a Russian battalion is participating, must all help now in solving the crisis. Personally, I trust that with the wisdom of the leaders of the former Yugoslav republics along with active support from, first and foremost, the UN, EC, and CSCE, and through mutual compromise, a common denominator will be found, and that a balance of interests will be established, which all together will make it possible to reach a lasting peace in the Balkans.

[Nicota] The Russian ambassador was one of the 52 foreign diplomats in Belgrade who attended the ceremony of proclamation for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Does this mean that Moscow is unconditionally recognizing the "third Yugoslavia," and that it supports Serbia in spite of its aggressive behavior?

[Girenko] I would like to stress two points. First, some Croatian writers tend to see things only through the prism of Croatian-Serbian confrontation. In the same way, they see the international activity of Russia much in the spirit of the motto: Whoever is not with us is against us!

Such a position does not leave room for the widely accepted diplomatic formula that the relations between two countries must not develop to the detriment of a third country. War has certainly poisoned relations with a mutual hatred. But, sooner or later, the war will hopefully end.

Croatia and Serbia will again have to build bridges of cooperation, especially in the field of economics, of which Mr. Tudjman himself spoke recently. These are two neighboring countries, which geographically and historically are predetermined to live together, one next to the other. Neither can just up and leave, and fly to the moon. When I read the mutual accusations, I always ask myself the same question: Isn't it time for the participants of this conflict to slowly start cooling down their passions? A very important contribution should come from the media in creating an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and restraint while searching for a common ground. In China, they say two hands are needed for applause. Naturally, each side has to cross its half of the road.

[Nicota] Are you saying that you are not pleased with the writings in some Croatian newspapers and of some journalists?

[Girenko] That is another point I wanted to make. Some Croatian journalists, neglecting the present international realities, simply cannot get rid of old propaganda clichés and the cold war way of thinking. Using outdated terminology, such authors make insinuations about Russian foreign policy. For instance, S. Martinovic, writing for a Zagreb weekly, referred to the "centuries-old geo-strategical ambitions of a Greater Russia" in an attempt to put blame on the present Russian leadership for an alleged expansionistic drive in the Balkans in the spirit of, as he put it, "Drang nach Adria" [Rush to the Sea]. And, a commentator of your magazine, Tomislav Butorac, in the 5 May issue, by citing "Orthodox fundamentalism," incriminates Russia for its desire to maintain influence in the Balkans by using its "traditional ties with Serbia and Montenegro."

[Nicota] Does this mean that Russia does not intend to establish special ties with these two states, that is, a "third Yugoslavia," based on historical interests and orthodoxy?

[Girenko] Some writers obviously have not yet realized that after August 1991 Russia, as a democratic, free, and peace-loving state, does not present any danger to other countries. We hope that the irrefutable facts will, even to those who are not yet sure, prove that now the main goal of Russian foreign policy is for the speedy integration of Russia into the modern democratic world.

Freed of past ideology, Russian foreign policy is aimed towards the establishment of a partnership, and even in the future, an alliance with the United States and other countries, including those on the Balkan peninsula. We have sincere sympathy for all of the peoples in the Yugoslav region. The people of Russia would not want their increased

cooperation with Croatia and Slovenia to be made a detriment to the traditional friendship enjoyed with other Balkan peoples. I want to repeat: We want to be friends with everyone, giving no one preference, whether based on ethnic or ideological, religious, or on any other criteria. Attempts, no matter where they come from, to accuse Russia of having intentions, even if only alleged, of creating some sort of an "Orthodox axis" in this part of the world in an effort to estrange the Balkan peoples—and to profit from it—are very malicious.

We are not interfering in the internal affairs of the new states emerging as a result of the breakup of the former Yugoslavia; we are not offering any recipes. On the contrary, we are ready to accept any solutions which result from peaceful negotiations and agreements, providing that the idea of changing existing borders by force is rejected, and that the rights of all national minorities are guaranteed according to European standards.

[Nicota] How does Russia view its stand, and what are her interests in the Balkans? Will there be a third Balkan war, or can one be prevented?

[Girenko] I have already, in part, answered this question. Russia will do everything it can to see that the events now developing in the Balkans are coordinated, as much as possible, with European aspirations regarding integration.

This means we shall do everything possible to see that these events do not lead to a third Balkan war, but rather toward the triumph of the basic principles underlying a new Europe. We support the peacemaking experiences and possibilities of the UN and the CSCE so that local and regional crisis can be resolved, at anytime, with the help of the UN peace-keeping forces, including the Russian soldiers who are participating as a part of these forces.

The real interest of Russia is to impose the necessity for the creation of common structures for assuring security in Europe with the ultimate goal of establishing a new world order "from Vancouver to Vladivostok."

Issue of Increased Terrorist Actions Viewed

92BA0907C Zagreb *DANAS* in Serbo-Croatian
12 May 92 pp 10-12

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "Leaden Times in Croatia"]

[Text] A certain mistake crept into the political assessments: The war is not over after all; it has only entered a new phase. Which could be equally fatal, but at the same time, it is to be feared, longer lasting than the first one. Almost every announcement here from the highest place that WE have won and that THEY have been defeated brings a new blow of aggression and a new wave of death. But now Zagreb, spared throughout the war, is becoming the center of a specific military strike, the attack of terrorism, while at the same time the offensive is not

ceasing along Croatia's outer edge. Croatia is obviously entering a new round of fear that will have only one advantage over the one we have had up to now: The burden of the war will be distributed more fairly.

Although terrorism has been with us more than a year now—last August, there was the explosion in the Jewish commune—it is as though we are only now becoming aware of it. Only now has politics become aware of it, speaking only the other day about terrorism in a meeting of the Supreme State Council. And the prime minister, Franjo Greguric, says in a session of the Assembly that urban terrorism is a particular kind of special warfare against Croatia. "Having lost the war, the enemy is trying to inflict maximum political, economic, and social damage, to make our citizens insecure, to turn away all who would like to come to us to invest their knowledge and capital or to spend their vacation. It is a question," Greguric says, "of state terrorism, of the dirtiest methods of special warfare that have been prohibited by all international conventions."

Three Addresses

And almost everything was predictable, particularly the order: Jews, the Serbian metropolitan's residence and museum, the vicinity of the American Consulate.... What comes next? So far, no one has been killed. Intentionally? Perhaps the next one is a place where that will no longer be the case. Although perhaps we are in this way repeating the mistake of politics, which even before it was really established proclaimed the same birthplace of all those terrorist acts, there is an obvious gradation in the strength of the explosive and an acceleration in the frequency of the explosions. The fear curve is rising. The citizens of Zagreb have in large numbers been caught up in a new phobia: They see explosives hidden in every bag and parcel.

Although the police now say that, of course, they expected this turn of events when the pressure of war was relieved on the battlefield, it could hardly be said that terror is spread over the entire territory of Croatia. Because then one would logically expect that places would be better guarded if, again logically, they might be attacked—locations marked with Serbian or Jewish symbols. At the same time, the fact that even a year later nothing is known about the person who planted the explosives in the Jewish community, and the same is true of the other case, suggests the conclusion that the police are unable to get on their trail. This accentuates the sense of THEIR superiority and OUR inferiority. And that kind of provocation is precisely the main point of terrorist attacks. To be sure, last year politics immediately organized on a central square in Zagreb a rally to which it proclaimed the party guilty for the explosion experienced by the Jews. The fact that in the meantime the police have been unable to confirm this with evidence says as much about the police as it does about politics.

Now once again, after the explosion at the American Consulate, the clairvoyants have made themselves heard. Vladimir Seks analyzes the motives for placing

the explosives at all three addresses: The detonation experienced by the Jews was supposed to turn them against recognition of Croatia, that of the Serbs was supposed to announce that the Serbs in Croatia are threatened by the terrorism of the Croatian state, and the destruction experienced by the Americans was supposed to turn the United States away from any stronger involvement in resolving the Yugoslav crisis and from taking decisive steps against the aggressor. Such political indications, the Croatian state prosecutor concludes, suggest that the perpetrators are most likely in the circle of the former KOS [Counterintelligence Service] or other Serbian expansionist, Chetnik terrorist elements who want to destabilize Croatia in that way. It is also possible, although less likely, Seks believes, that these were "ultraradical right-wing currents or individuals," who also want to destabilize Croatia and demonstrate that the law-governed state cannot function in it.

Although it is probably inappropriate for the state prosecutor to be publicly concerned with such speculations, along with analyses of the clues on the scene of the explosion, an examination of motives can be helpful. After answering the five questions of newspaper journalism: We do not know WHO, we know WHAT, we know WHEN (we assume ever greater frequency in the future), nor do we know HOW, except that these obviously are real professionals, masters of their destructive trade, we arrive at the question of WHY. Perhaps if we establish why, we might also detect who. Who needs terrorism in Croatia? Whose interests does it serve?

The Tip of the Mountain of Fire

If we bear in mind that terrorism harms Croatia most of all, then one can easily conclude who is its originator: He is on the side of Croatia's enemies. Probably at that same address from which Osijek and Sarajevo are being bombarded. Their signature may be on the explosive, which had a terrible destructive power, destroying not only one building of several stories, but leaving behind a permanent scar in the heart of Zagreb. The streetcars no longer go down Zrinjevac Street, because of the danger of the walls caving in; in the center of the city, in the vicinity of the central city square and near the train station, at an unavoidable place, this would be a constant reminder to the people of Zagreb, thereby destroying the city's security and self-confidence. Zarko Puhovski, who is concerned with terrorism as a scientist, has told us that the essential thing in all of this is that it is a radical variant of provocation probably meant to drive the other side, the Croatian state, society, community, to measures to prove that it really is the way they have long said it is. This is the reaction called for by the provocation. This is a self-fulfilling prophesy. THEY have long been saying that Croatia is an Ustasha state, and they are trying with provocations to provoke reactions that will provide them

an argument. And which will in that sense compromise Croatia before the world, and in that they have not been without success.

But it is also possible to speak of producing another kind of reaction, a lack of confidence in the Croatian state and anger toward the Croatian Government. Augmenting fear and panic, which can be accomplished by a rise of terrorist provocations and destruction, suits the purpose quite well.

But other interpretations are also possible. Terrorist acts could also play into the hands of those who prefer a police state, who would resolve the problems in society by repressive rather than political means, who do not favor a soft state, but a firm hand, who cherish special units, who believe that we should not be sparing with the forces of law and repression, who turn democratic control in this area into a farce, because they favor the greatest possible, complete darkening of that area occupied by police and other repressive authorities. That possibility is suggested by the already commonplace rhetoric of denunciation in which Croatian "ultraradical currents and individuals" are mentioned as collaborators of the odious KOS. This is suggested by the words of Zdravko Zidovac, assistant police minister, who in connection with the most recent explosion the other day, speaking about the Yugoslav Army and its intelligence services, also said that "military networks of agents use small groups and individuals which, operating in organizations of extreme Croatism, through radical slogans and appealing to Ustashism, offer some kind of construction of a Croatian state along those lines."

He would also stress that "the repressive and judicial apparatus in our country still have not used all opportunities opened up by our legislation" and that "the law-governed state will function with or without force, with or without casualties. And on that there can be no conversation or negotiation."

Although it might sound threatening and might awaken anxiety from certain leaden times Croatia has experienced, this might also be an expression of real concern and, we might almost say, of self-criticism of the police. After all, the several major explosions in Zagreb are only the tip of the terrorist mountain of fire. Croatia has faced terrorism from the moment the first barricades were put up on its transportation routes, and it has escalated as time passed and become more diverse in its forms: houses are blown up on the ethnic principle, in the occupied regions of Croatia the houses of Croats, during the "crystal nights" in Zadar it was show windows of Serbian shops and houses that suffered.... Quite often it is tit for tat, which was kept in persistent silence for a long time.

Like an avalanche, terror begins with a small snowball, and afterward it is difficult to stop. In the first four months of this year, demolition charges were exploded in almost 1,500 houses in regions under complete control of Croatian authorities; and in April there were twice as

many as in January. Perhaps this carcinoma would not be spoken of if the American explosion had not occurred.

Police Decision or Political Decision

How is terrorism to be treated? Contrary to the deep-seated opinion, this is not a police decision, but a political decision. Many European countries have confronted terrorism in various phases of their development and they responded to it in various ways. Some with the decisiveness of repression by the state, others determined to avoid repression as much as possible. It turns out that only those countries which did not suspend democracy managed to solve this problem. How Croatia will react we still do not know. Zagreb is crawling with policemen, the police are bringing in suspects in droves, people who live in the neighborhood of the sites of the explosions complain to us that agents insist on answers concerning nationality....

In recent days, America has also faced such dilemmas, although it was a question of an outbreak of mass anger, which nevertheless cannot be classified as terrorism, it is certainly valuable to examine the way in which they resolve social conflicts. America did bring the army into the streets, but President Bush at the same time invited black leaders in for a talk. He was even criticized for not going to the scene. Two years ago, when a similar wave of rebellion broke out in Knin, Stipe Mesic spoke about the personnel carriers which had been sent to the site of the conflict. As far as we know, they did not arrive there.

Speaking recently about the referendum that took place at one point in Krajina, which the authority in Zagreb said would be prevented by all means of a law-governed state, Drazen Budisa said that behind that menacing tone there was neither "reason nor decisiveness nor strength." The other thing the American President did was lacking here.

Terrorism provides another occasion on which Croatia must respond to the question of how it will resolve conflicts in society. Up to now it has not given much indication of this, as though it does not know the answer or cannot decide. This is true from the Assembly to Knin. Everywhere, the reliance is usually put on domination—in the Assembly on the numerical superiority of the incumbent party's deputies, in Knin on the strength of the law of the state.

The democratic principle that the majority decides is not combined with that necessary corrective that the minority is not without influence and can be a check to the majority. That is why the flood of terrorism in Croatia probably will not be a temporary phenomenon. The other side has not waged this much war and died to that extent so that now it will simply withdraw and give up. Only those who are naive could believe that. It still has not been defeated, it will continue its war, perhaps it will merely combine the weapons it has used up to now with certain new ones.

The wartime situation is certainly not suitable for learning a lesson in democracy, perhaps that is why it is learned so inconclusively slowly. But to get out of this war and its subtype, terrorism, at all, it will nevertheless be inevitable.

Expert Discusses Terrorist Activities in Zagreb

92BA0907D Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
12 May 92 pp 12-13

[Interview with Marijan Kraljevic, expert in fighting terrorism, by Darko Pavicic; place and date not given: "Bombs for Panic"]

[Text] The terrorist acts in Zagreb suggested to us that we talk a bit about terrorism, especially urban terrorism, with a former policeman and present (co)owner of a private detective agency—Delta. Marijan Kraljevic, known as "King," speaks about the phenomenon of urban guerrillas from his own antiterrorist experience, but also in terms of the attitudes of government institutions, police, and citizens toward the phenomenon and toward the recent rise in the crime rate in general.

"The world has long been familiar with the phenomenon of terrorism, and because of this cruel war Zagreb and Croatia have both experienced it," Kraljevic said. "Terrorism is in fact the most serious form of crime. And this that we confront can be compared with all the terrorism of urban guerrillas that has occurred in the world. Ireland and England have been suffering from this disease more than 50 years. The United States has had its terrorism, West Germany in the 1970's had the group Baader-Meinhof. The terrorism that has occurred in our country is codified in *Red Book No. 9*, a book for which you could go to prison in Germany in the 1970's, and the basis of everything is the doctrine of Carlo Marigela and everything that has grown up in Latin America.

"The security structures of the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] learned in the schools of foreign intelligence services. But in speaking about this, I must qualify myself, because for 10 years now I have been outside the security service, so that the most up-to-date figures are not accessible to me. But what has been happening in Croatia has its roots in the war. There is good reason to suspect that remnants of the old security services, not only KOS [Counterintelligence Service], but also various networks of agents that have not been broken up, and then a possible 'Vietnam syndrome.' All of this is what creates the 'water in which the fish of terrorism swims.' I am quoting Mao Ze Dong, because he once said that removal of that water is the only way of catching that fish. Ireland and England, whose services are extraordinary, have not been able to frustrate terrorism because it is terribly difficult to take away from the Irish the 'water' in the barrel."

[Pavicic] Is it possible for Croatia to resist this, from the police to the citizen?

[Kraljevic] It is difficult for me to offer an evaluation of our police, intelligence, and counterintelligence structure. After all, I know many people, I know that some have stayed and some new people have come. I know that Croatia has been defending itself against aggression with some of its elite police units. Nor do I know how many intelligence services there are. And when I, a former professional, do not know that, you can imagine how much the ordinary citizen knows. But my position is that regardless of the level of its organization, the service will do just as much as it can.

But because the phenomenon of urban terrorism, of urban guerrilla warfare, is new to us, we cannot expect to adapt to it in a week or two. You see, these were attacks that were not really expected, because this was neither any garrison of ours, nor a building of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs], nor a high-level government institution. And that is what makes it the greatest banditry, because they want to create panic and insecurity in the citizens, who will think that the security services of the Republic of Croatia cannot put a stop to this. This goes to two extremes, from people's rebellion, organizing self-protection, and revolt against the order of the state to absolute pacification, when people do not go to the movies or the theater, and one gets the impression that Croatia is under pressure from a far greater menace that is actually the case.

[Pavicic] But there still exists the possibility of protection?

[Kraljevic] The media must begin to train citizens in a gradual way. The English, who have confronted this, live peacefully. When there were several bomb attacks in the center of London, there was no traffic for an entire day, and that traffic involves between five and seven million people, and no one got excited about that, it did not cause anyone to curse the police, the government, or the queen. People merely behaved more carefully than they otherwise would have, say, when they entered the subway, they left their briefcase in the place provided. So, those measures which are followed anyway were maintained still more strictly. The self-protective mechanism of the citizens cannot prevent an explosion, but it can give notice to the person who intends to plant an explosive that he will be discovered.

[Pavicic] Why attack Zagreb in particular?

[Kraljevic] These three explosions, for instance, they were not calculated to cause casualties, but to cause panic, to create a climate in which far more can be achieved politically than if 30 people ended up in the hospital. This is a terrible panic, and it is heightened even more every time it is evoked once again. And then the question arises: What can this state offer me? I think that is the objective. Unfortunately, it cannot be excluded that in the midst of various undisciplined lunatics there might be people from our ranks who have experienced horrors, there are those whose activity resembles that of the urban guerrillas.

You have to "get into" the enemy's head and create several parameters of defense, from maximum prevention by citizens to covering points of logistic support (all the points of dissatisfaction), from covering all centers for illegal distribution of weapons and explosives to direct counterintelligence and anticommando activity.

The most important thing that has to be done is to get into the enemy's circulatory system. That is how the ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty] was broken up in Spain, that is how the French broke up the ultra-left-wing organization Action Directe, and that is how the Italians dealt with the Red Brigades and the Turks with the Gray Wolves. Of course, this is not done with uniformed policemen on the highway, but with men in plain clothes.

[Pavicic] Zagreb, whose population is growing and is steadily recording a rise of crime, is very suitable for terrorist acts, is it not?

[Kraljevic] When we established our agency, I said that I expect not only a rise of crime, but also the occurrence of certain special forms of crime. The state of war favors all of that, because what value does some criminal put on someone else's life today? This is also a greater handicap for the police, which have had and still have to wage war. Finally, I must also say, although I know I will have problems for saying so, there are people in the police now whom I would never let in the door. I take my hat off to all of those who are fighting in the trenches. You know, many have done this for personal gain. Fortunately, they do not represent a large number.

[Pavicic] Is not the police itself to blame for this, why has it allowed it?

[Kraljevic] It is hard for me to say. You see, in the past I did not want to talk to the police structure that was in place, with a part of it, even over a gun sight. I would say of certain gentlemen who have appeared on television that they would have a hard time drinking coffee not only in my office, but also elsewhere, much less anything more. Why? Because of their low ethical level, that is why. But they have been kept on for reasons unknown to me. There is another segment of many honest people who have never been in the police and do not know their job. And finally, when Croatia had to be saved, everyone was welcome. There is an old saying, the devil devours wise men while they sleep. It might even have been predicted that we would have a backlash. However, no one could count on this beastly situation that surrounds us. Probably at the beginning no one thought that it would be such a bad thing to take a few people who under normal conditions would not be in police or military units.

Certainly, no one wanted in this way to rehabilitate criminals and evil, but simply there was no other way. In the desperate intention of saving what could be saved, certain errors were made on the run, and now we have to correct them.

[Pavicic] What does a private detective think about the police of the state of Croatia?

[Kraljevic] I think that today the police are better than they were six months ago. They have been learning terribly bloody lessons on the run, beginning with Plitvice, then Borovo Selo, and so on. The police are better today, but it is clear that they are far from what I would like. They are beginning to understand more and more that mere patriotism and mere good intentions are not enough for good performance. I am an optimist, because the professionalism of the police in the interests of the Republic of Croatia is beginning to be respected more and more. But at the same time I am bitter. On several occasions, I have told very high officials of Croatia's security service that there are numerous people like me, people more intelligent and able than I am, people from that institution who are quite certainly ready to help as much as they can with their "outdated" knowledge and technology. No one would take pay for that, nor any ranks, because we are retired, we are not spring chickens, but people who would like very much to help.

But instead of that, recently people have begun to label me, from saying that I work for KOS to saying that I am unethical. Behind all of that there is envy that I am doing a good business in an independent enterprise that has nothing to do with the government.

And there is also people's personal animosity because I was never like a typical "cop," who reads one thing and writes another. Horrible things happen, they meddle in my private life, and not only mine, but also that of my colleagues.

[Pavicic] As far as I know, you had that even before.

[Kraljevic] I receive anonymous letters! During the last regime, I received the same kind of letters in which they said that I was a Ustasha, that all of my people are Ustashi, and now I am experiencing the same thing only from the other side.

And this is not done by the government as a whole, but by those individuals whom I would not let in the door.

Details of Debate on Post-War Croatian Economy

92BA0893C Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
5 May 92 pp 18-20

[Debate at the 25 April meeting of the Croatian Government's economic council: "What the Economic Barons Are Preparing for Us"—first paragraph is DANAS introduction]

[Text] Transcript of a heated discussion about the strategy for the postwar economic development of the Republic of Croatia, conducted at a meeting of the government's Economic Council.

On Saturday, 25 April 1992, a meeting of the Croatian Government's Economic Council, chaired by Dr. Sime

Djodan, lasted from 0930 to 1550, with a brief break around 1300. There was a discussion of the final version of the project "Concept for the Strategy of Carrying Out the Development of the Republic of Croatia," which was prepared at the order of the Croatian Government by a team of scholars gathered at the Zagreb Economic Institute. Several invited members of the government and economists who were the authors of individual parts of that study participated in the discussion, along with the members of the Economic Council. That crucially important subject for the economic future of postwar Croatia was thus also discussed, along with Sima Djodan, Hrvoje Susic, Jaksa Barbic, Djordje Pribicevic, Pero Jurkovic, Bozo Marendic, Zdenko Prohasek, and Stjepan Zdunic, by Gorazd Nikic, Jurica Pavelic, and Mladen Vedris. Because of the exceptional interest of the topic and the polemical discussions, we are presenting extracts from an unauthorized transcript of that meeting, which will certainly be discussed further.

[Susic] I already wanted to tell the truth several times, but I was told, "Don't do it now, because there is a war... because Croatia has to be recognized," and I kept quiet, but I will not do it any longer. I have been asked, "Why did you give amnesty to Greguric?"

I gave him amnesty because he asked me, before he become deputy prime minister, for help against Cicin-Sain and against Hanzekovic, because he said that he would go for what Reagan did, for anticipated budgetary expenditure, and if he had carried it out there would have been fewer dead Croats. That is why I am rejecting this "Strategy of Development" today, because it could be a second Vukovar. In fact, with this green book, all of Croatia is being destroyed. I am warning you in this regard that historical proof has been left that in these four months, Dr. Sime Djodan has been prevented from saving Croatia. The truth has come out that even 20 years ago Djodan was seeking a theory of supply, gentlemen.

[Pribicevic] (Interruption inaudible)

[Susic] You have been making decisions procedurally in the Croatian state like a Serb for 40 years, and you have been shutting me up for 40 years. If Milosevic can't, can you again, Pribicevic?

[Djodan (as chairman)] Don't, please, he is a citizen of Croatia like you.

[Susic] Well, I am a citizen too. He does not have a right to interrupt me. It says in the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia that communism has been rejected, but in this green book that there has been a change in the environment. Someone who does not know what I will say will not know why the grand master of verbal gymnastics, Professor Marendic, conceived it this way, and why he is the final editor precisely in this section. Consequently, for a Yugoslav minister to be the editor of our economic policy.... I am warning both Tudjman, Domljan, and Greguric about this so that they will not fool around, because this will be waved at them

tomorrow at campaign rallies and it will be said: "Gentlemen, this is your crime, while we were in power workers were not dismissed, but now you have driven them out, you did not want to give Croatian money to Croatian workers...." It should be said honestly how much Reagan and Bush increased the U.S. public debt for 10 years in order to overthrow communism. They increased it by \$2 trillion! But broad powers are being requested here for the National Bank, which already has broad powers, and there is no Stalin, Trotsky, or Lenin, there is no Mao Zedong who would prescribe something like that for himself. We will have to prepare an appeal against the National Bank of Croatia...!

The fundamental question is thus whether we are rejecting communism or aiming at a transition. But it is obvious that we are aiming at a transition and that the authors of this strategy are counting on a long-term transition. And now we are coming to the real account; I have already given this to Mesic and Tudjman. By 9 May 1990 the initial money that Djodan mentioned had experienced 45-million-percent inflation, one million for each year of communism. But let's clear up whose it is. It is not Tudjman's, because he sat in a blanket near his house and did not have anything to pay for gas, but those 45 million percent: Tripalo since 1945, Savka from when she was in power, Racan and Tomac while they were in power, and then finally Milovic. After that 45 million percent comes 250-million-percent initial inflation in somewhat less than two years. That is 2 million percent a month, and it is good that Cicin-Sain shifted to a monthly discount rate for it, because the communist government had 1 million percent annual inflation, and this present one, but not Tudjman's, has 2 million monthly! It is not Djodan's, or Tudjman's, or Martynovic's inflation. It is the inflation of Cicin-Sain, Zdunic, Marendic, Budisa, the Coalition of National Agreement, Savka, Tripalo, Supek, and HAZU [Croatian Academy of Science and Art]. The solution is for Tudjman and Djodan to take back power and appoint HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] members as ministers, i.e., appoint those for whom the people voted. On the other hand, Prof. Supek deserves full credit, he has been against the HDZ for 30 years.... We have gotten Serbia off our backs, but not yet the communists. When we also get the rest of the communists off our backs, then we will very quickly follow the paths of Finland and Norway. Consequently, we know how it is done.... The governor says that he is not giving money to Croatia, and that was written in DANAS. He has dropped an anchor for wages. Can this current system be so inhumane that it will do what not even communism did?

[Jurkovic] We have to adhere to the democratic nature of discussion, but today an undemocratic approach to solving the problem is hanging over our heads. I believe that there are those who oppose changes, but I do not believe in a horde of enemies of Croatia. We have to be interested in solutions to the problems that have arisen, and not some sort of felling of princes. I am also interested in where the main authors of the study are?

[Djodan] That is an omission; they were obviously not invited.

[Jurkovic] In spite of the war, scandalous things really have happened in Croatia's economic policy. We have also taken certain scandalous steps. No one needs to be hanged for that, however. I believe that those steps were also taken with the best of intentions. I will not agree with Hrvoje on the issue of a big jump, because big jumps usually lead to an abyss. All life is gradualism, and especially economic life. That is why the most important thing is for us to determine what sort of Croatia we want, what sort is possible, and how capable the present Croatia is of changing, politically, economically, and organizationally. Is each citizen equally important to us in Croatia, regardless of nationality, or do some people think that there have to be exceptions? Are we in favor of a centralized state and economy, or are we in favor of its decentralized development? Are we really in favor of entrepreneurship, with all its consequences on the social level as well? Let us thus first resolve the fundamental issues, and then the technical problems will be of marginal importance.

[Djodan] I will say a few words now. Look, you have approximately three models for regulating monetary and credit policy: Neo-Keynesian, monetarist, and structuralist. This third one is the best, because it allows optimum growth.... Here it is beautifully stated that the National Bank follows the model of economic policy, but no one can get it into his head that it is some sort of fourth independent authority in the state, because the National Bank serves the Assembly. I will also tell you this. While Prof. Hanzekovic was the minister of finance, we agreed that we would introduce Croatian money at the same time as the Slovenes [introduced Slovene money]. The Slovenes did it, and last year kept production at 94 percent of the 1990 level, but we did not do it, and so it fell here to 58 percent of the 1990 level.

I am not saying that Cicin-Sain is to blame for this, but he is to blame for something else. He has always bypassed me and gone to Mr. Greguric to have it regulated there by decrees, without the Assembly's Budget and Finance Committee, even though the National Bank is under that committee. Our National Bank, when I was invited to be governor—that was a prescription for a heart attack—sent \$3 billion in bank profits to Belgrade in 1990. The same bank sent the same thing in 1991, because it did not exclude itself from that system in time, although it was thrown out, and so it also financed the war against us.

And now I am asking whether Cicin-Sain could have done it himself? He could not, because he is not the kind of person who could have done something like that, and instead there must be some kind of short circuit somewhere else. Look, don't think that I am familiar with all the mechanisms of decision-making in Croatia.... And then they attacked me as if I were asking for hyperinflation. No, on the contrary, I am asking for zero inflation!

[Vedris] So far the National Bank of Croatia has had an absolute opportunity to conduct an autonomous policy. It proceeded from the simple fact that monetary stability is a sacred cow, and a central bank is something valuable in itself. It is not necessary to say in particular how that sacred cow has ended up these days. Consequently, if we speak realistically, at this time Croatia cannot have a neutral economic policy, because it is becoming a false note. In an orchestra, it is clearly marked in the score when which instrument comes in and how; otherwise it would not be an orchestra, but rather a good afternoon's entertainment for individuals, who play better or worse.... I do not find an answer here to what is vital for Croatia, the issue of foreign trade, because—listen—as soon as Samobor is crossed, foreign trade is everything for Croatia. After all, what have we done in the past two years about the catastrophic policy of bankruptcies? It is not on the verge of crime; it is beyond crime.

[Djodan] It is deeply into crime.

[Vedris] Look, when people at the most vital age sit at home, they became desperate and cannot give their children an answer about what to do, and so they go to a tavern. Consequently, what are we talking about?

[Djodan] These thousand bankruptcies alluded to are really going to cause social unrest, because, look, (there are) 300,000 unemployed, and 500,000 refugees. Let us assume that we will send them back, but it will go slowly, and so you get another 300,000 unemployed. An empty stomach does not have patriotism, heart, or mind; it fights for bare survival. That is why we need operational measures for this year and a half. Theory without practice is worthless.

[Marendic] I think that it is nevertheless unfair to criticize the National Bank of Croatia so much when there is not one of its representatives here. It is not fair to criticize Governor Cicin-Sain either, when he is not present, but not invited. Really, we all have to study democratic rules some more. Mladen Vedris left, so he can read from the transcript what I will say. He spoke today in general terms as if he did not belong to any profession. He did it more harshly than anyone else, however, and furthermore, aside from listing questions, he did not make a single contribution to the solutions. That is why it seems to me that we ought to start from the beginning: determine what is strategy and what is the concept. Gentlemen, we cannot at the same time solve the problem of supplying Zagreb with eggs, and raise that as a project to the level of privatization. If we get too wrapped up in current problems and if we are carried away by the illusion that we can solve whatever we want immediately, then in the short term perhaps we can do something, but in the medium and longer terms we will certainly end up in an even more serious situation.

For example, I personally think that so far the National Bank has not even conducted a neutral policy, and especially not a restrictive one aimed at ensuring the stability of the dinar and zero inflation, but has on the

contrary been very expansive, openhanded, as demonstrated in any case by the data on price trends, and our inflation is already on the brink of hyperinflation.

Gentlemen, if you consider a 15-percent monthly rate of inflation to be the fruit of a restrictive monetary policy, I really do not know how high inflation would be if a stimulative monetary policy had been conducted!? Consequently, we can pump new money into the economy, but there will not be any positive result. There will be results, but much worse than these now!

[Djodan] Mr. Marendic, it is not necessary to defend Mr. Cicin-Sain, because I think that Cicin-Sain himself is not to blame, but rather a broader group of our politicians, who operated by inertia. We have thus been very fair to our colleague Cicin-Sain—just so that you know.

I have known him since 1966, and I am not to blame for his not being here today. Look, Mr. Zdunic could have invited him! And what Mr. Pavelic said, that I said that the Economic Council is superior to the Croatian Government, is obviously a lapse. It does not happen anywhere in the world that the government's economic council is superior to the government. But there is another commission, Mr. Pavelic, that is superior to the government, and that is the HDZ Economic Commission, because—look—all the criticism is actually against the government as the executive, but no distinction is ever made about which minister is involved. You all know that these other ministers, my God, are here today and gone tomorrow. Our ministers are like variable "a" in that regard.

[Sosic] You are retreating; say honestly what you think. Let us talk like human beings for once, and put our cards on the table. Let me talk to you.

[Djodan] Wait, this is not a political meeting.

[Sosic] It is not a political one, but this is a meeting of the Economic Council, the Economic Council of the government of the Republic of Croatia. I am talking about the material.

[Djodan] I am saying that this material...

[Sosic] ...Is unusable?

[Djodan] In the short term it is unusable.

[Sosic] Neither in the short term nor the long term!

[Djodan] That is why we are scheduling a new Council meeting in a month.

[Sosic] Well, you won't convene it now in a month, because I am against it.

[Marendic] Chairman, what does it mean, that it is not usable in the short term?

[Djodan] I think...

[Sosic] ...That it doesn't mean anything!

[Djodan] Look at what's involved...

[Sosic] (Inaudible)

[Marendic] I want to ask the chairman this.

[Djodan] The material has several theoretical assumptions with which a person cannot disagree, but it also contains contradictions.

[Marendic] That is an important issue. Let's discuss it a little. Let's persist to the end.

[Djodan] I must say that this strategy reminds me of lectures when I was a freshman.

[Marendic] We cannot work successfully now unless we answer some of my questions.

[Djodan] We cannot, naturally.

[Sosic] Better let me; you didn't give me the floor. Let me, and listen to what I say. Let me, you won't regret it, I am quite ready. You are a little... you don't know who you're talking to.

[Djodan] The deputy chairman is taking the floor away from me.

[Sosic] Yes, I am taking the floor away from you.

[Djodan] All right, go ahead.

[Sosic] Now the cards are on the table here! For your information, Marendic, that green book—this is my political assessment—is another Vukovar that will destroy all of Croatia, and I stand by that assessment. If you don't let me talk anywhere else, I will talk in Ban Jelacic Square! I guarantee it with my life.

The most essential conclusion of this meeting for me is that I was in all the discussion groups to overthrow you and Markovic and this Tomac. Nevertheless, you were chosen by Tudjman, and if he chose you then you are here. If it is possible to work with you, I will. I was on formal terms with you because you didn't give me the time of day when I was in apartheid, and I was hungry, and my children, but I was immediately on intimate terms with you and tomorrow I will tell you that you are a real man if I verify you.

[Djodan] It was a big mistake, gentlemen, that the government did not propose to the Assembly that all general national property be put under the protection, not of the HDZ, because I do not care about the HDZ, but rather of Croatia. Clearly Croatia is the main thing for everyone, and not the parties. The parties are transitory, and it would be better if they did not exist. But I think that since we are a political society, they have to exist, don't they? And now we cannot...

Look, the Assembly is frivolous too. I must tell you quite openly that when we have a discussion in the Assembly about the most important issues, then the discussion is limited to five minutes. With such people, who are

themselves veterinarians, agronomists, a carrot sticks out of their pockets, psychiatrists who are half crazy—you cannot have a discussion with such people, because they are in a hurry to go home. We have a situation, e.g., a frivolous government, but that does not apply to you, because a government is a unified organism. As Vice Buljan once said to Krajacic, forgive the gentleman for being an ass.

And then Krajacic complained about Vice Buljan to Bakaric, and Bakaric put it on the agenda. The latter told him, "Mr. President, you told us one day that the government is a unified organism. Accordingly, someone in the government has to be the ass, if the government is a unified organism. Now it is not quite clear to me who is the government's head, but I must admit that this other thing is not clear to me either...." And thus you are only working scientifically, independently. I asked, after all, that a fundamental research problem be solved. You cannot publish anything today unless it has the title "Croatian bird," and now we could get that Croatianism as inflation. Consequently, we will continue this discussion in a month.

[Sosic] Let's continue it on Monday. Wait, we have to continue!

[Djodan] Wait, do you want to say something else?

[Sosic] I will not wait a month!

[Djodan (after a brief discussion)] Then we are going to continue in 25 or 30 days, with suitable preparations. I request that the secretary delete just that couple of verbs from this discussion. Thank you.

Croatian Rights Party Leader Paraga Interviewed

92BA0910A Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in
Serbo-Croatian 9 May 92 pp 10-11

[Interview with Dobroslav Paraga, Croatian Rights Party chairman, by Boris Dezulovic in Split; date not given: "We Will Finish the War in Belgrade!"—first paragraph is SLOBODNA DALMACIJA introduction]

[Text] Present-day Croatia and Herceg-Bosnia are one entity that was forcibly split apart, and the sooner they are unified, the sooner Greater Serbia will be shattered. We gave our support to a unified and independent Bosnia in order to keep it from being partitioned by Tudjman and Milosevic. The war is over only for President Tudjman. Serbia will experience what it means to live in bomb shelters. We must wage an offensive war. The Ustashi movement was an anti-fascist movement! Tudjman can win the election only in Zagreb and in the parts of Croatia that have not experienced war.

[Dezulovic] Mr. Paraga, not much time has passed since your last interview with SLOBODNA DALMACIJA—less than four months. In the meantime, however, much has happened. Following its referendum, neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina has been plunged into war, after

which it seems that you have demanded more explicitly than ever that the border of Croatia be shifted from the Una to the Drina. By what means?

[Paraga] The basic assumption here is the status quo, or rather that nothing in this region can be changed. However, you see what the Serbs have done—hundreds of thousands of Croats have had to flee their homes, from one part of Croatia to another. Who says that tomorrow, after the Yugoslav army, the Serbs too will not have to withdraw from these regions, after having committed such crimes against Croats of both religions—Catholicism and Islam—as well as against those who consider themselves ethnic Muslims. The latest events show that neither present-day Croatia nor Bosnia-Herzegovina, as two parts of one state and national entity, have any further desire to be together with Belgrade, with Yugoslavia. This defense, this violent resistance to Belgrade actually comes from the aspiration of restoring and recreating a unified Croatian state as the only defense against Belgrade.... Because Bosnia is hard, if not impossible, to defend, just as are certain parts of the present-day Republic of Croatia, unless they are regarded together as one strategic unit. This is not arbitrary, this is not a defensive alliance, but rather one entity that was forcibly split apart, and the sooner they are unified, the sooner Greater Serbia will be shattered. Thus, our strategy is "Croatia up to the Drina," because otherwise there will be no Croatia or Herceg-Bosnia. After all, this is the thousand-year Croatian state prerogative; ultimately, 80 percent of the people here are non-Serbs who want freedom and independence from Belgrade, and this can be effected only through an independent state of Croatia.

[Dezulovic] What does this mean today, after the referendum for Bosnia-Herzegovian independence and its international recognition? Even members of the HSP [Croatian Rights Party] in Bosnia, based on your recommendation, circled "YES" in the referendum on independence. How then do you regard this Croatia up to the Drina—as a federal, confederal... or unitary state?

[Paraga] My party and I advocate a unified Croatian state, and whether or not it will be federal will be decided by the people through a plebiscite. No one has the right to decide on the structure of the state without the vote of the people, meaning a referendum.

[Dezulovic] Who would participate in this referendum...?

[Paraga] The people of Herceg-Bosnia and Croatia—present-day Croatia.

[Dezulovic] The reason I ask this is because the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina have already voted in favor of its independence in a referendum....

[Paraga] Well, yes.... Look, we also decided to vote in favor of Bosnian independence in order to save it from partition between Tudjman and Milosevic, who were swooping down on Bosnia like two vultures, intending to

split up the spoils of war. We, however, feel that with the enemy, there cannot be a partition of even a scrap of territory in the area of the Croatian state; if we agree to the division of Herceg-Bosnia today, then we will not even be able to say tomorrow that Vukovar is Croatian... much less Zemun. We put it like this: Those who think that Zemun is not Croatian will say the same thing tomorrow about Vukovar... and this is already happening. We have long said that the fiendish plot between the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] and the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] of Bosnia-Herzegovina concerning partition must be prevented and thwarted, a plot agreed to by Tudjman and Milosevic but finalized by Manolic and Karadzic in Graz, Austria. That is why we went to Citluk on 26 February and called on all Croats and Muslims of Herceg-Bosnia to vote in the referendum. They supported it, and the referendum passed.

Croatia Up to the Drina

[Dezulovic] Does the fact of international recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a sovereign and independent state change anything in your project?

[Paraga] I was asked in Bonn by the chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the German parliament what the HSP's view would be if Germany recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina. We told him that just as we supported preserving a unified Herceg-Bosnia internally, we would support preserving a unified Herceg-Bosnia externally as well. We also said, "OK, the sooner the better.... You will make our job easier in the war with Belgrade." Thus, we regard this recognition as one more step in the direction of returning Herceg-Bosnia to the independent Croatian state. This development of events is conducive to that which we advocate, which is to keep Serbia from crossing the Drina. Thus, international recognition of Herceg-Bosnia serves to preserve the border on the Drina and wipe out the border on the Una, the artificial border between present-day Croatia and Herceg-Bosnia. We know that the next step for Bosnia-Herzegovina is its unification with Croatia; we know that this is the attitude of the vast majority of people, because this is the same soil, the same blood, and the same nation.

[Dezulovic] So you have absolutely no doubt about the results of any referendum on a Croatia up to the Drina, or as far as Zemun?

[Paraga] I personally feel not only that the majority of the population in these areas would express its support for this, but also that this will in fact come to pass. Indeed, have not the previous war and the current war shown that only a strong, unified Croatia can provide protection for the people in the Drina basin, central Bosnia, eastern Herzegovina, Slavonia, Syrmia...? Specifically, we must not forget the Croats from Syrmia who are coming to us today in Zagreb and complaining about how the current Croatian authorities have completely forgotten them and are not thinking about them in the least. They are not even thinking about Vukovar, much

less Syrmia. However, the HSP has not forgotten them, just as it has not forgotten the Croats in the Gulf of Kotor, who are not allowed to speak of the Gulf as part of Croatia, nor to declare themselves Croats....

[Dezulovic] But would a Croatia like this and of these dimensions not be similar—even in terms of national structure—to the imaginary Greater Serbia? Is it not also based on the idea of "Croatia to the last Croatian grave," and "all Croats in one state"?

[Paraga] Look, Serbia does not have a single historic argument for usurping this Croatian territory, because there has been a Croatian state in this territory for centuries, and prior to 1918 they never ruled territory across the Drina—in Croatia or in Herceg-Bosnia. This is a compact territory, and it was so both under Turkey and under Austria-Hungary. Today we know that it was precisely the Croats who for centuries struggled against the occupation of Bosnia and launched uprisings against the Turks.

... And Belgrade Pashaluk

[Dezulovic] Let us go back a few centuries. Today, as then, "Croatian units" defend Herceg-Bosnia. I am thinking of your HOS [Croatian Defense Force—military wing of HSP], whose involvement in Herceg-Bosnia, I assume, you have no need to deny...?

[Paraga] Of course not, why would we deny that...? For us, this is an integral part of Croatia. There are people from Medjimurje, Zagorje, Istria—Croatian Istria, that is—fighting in its units; there is no region that is not represented in HOS units on the battlefields of Herceg-Bosnia. For example, one entire unit came down from Baranya, or rather from Osijek, where it is now holding the front at Donji Malovan and Suica. Ultimately, the Hawk is a Slavonian....

[Dezulovic] What is he currently doing in Herzegovina?

[Paraga] He is working on improving coordination between the HOS units and military commissions in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Dezulovic] In recent days, the Hawk has gotten a lot of exposure at the press conferences on your tour around Dalmatia. What is the meaning of his statements to the effect that there is no cease-fire in Herceg-Bosnia for the HOS and that the blue helmets are not welcome in Croatia?

[Paraga] Practically speaking, that means that we will endeavor to secure the most advantageous situation with respect to the Croatian parliament, and strive for rejection of the hospitality extended to the blue helmets.

[Dezulovic] However, the Hawk is not a politician, and perhaps his statements could be interpreted differently...?

[Paraga] No.... Naturally, we will not wage war with the "blue helmets," but we also have no authority to terminate their stay here. It is understandable that we do not want war with the West and the United Nations, but at the same time we do not welcome their arrival. We have said that we offer them the soonest possible departure from here. Why should tens of thousands of foreigners be offered perks and hospitality while Croatian soldiers are sent home because the war is allegedly over? How is it over...? Look at yesterday—16 dead in Slavonski Brod. For whom is the war over? Only for President Tudjman. For the Croatian people, the war is far from over. With this balance of power the war cannot be finished. We want to finish the war in Belgrade.

[Dezulovic] In what way?

[Paraga] In such a way that Serbia experiences what it means to live in bomb shelters, when women, children, and old people flee from their so-called high-rise buildings into bomb shelters. In a word: Belgrade is the epicenter of this war, it is the instigator, it is where the headquarters of the SSNO [Federal Secretariat of National Defense] and SANU [Serbian Academy of Science and Art] are located, and it is where the protagonists of the crimes against the Albanian, Croatian, Bulgarian, and other nations are. Previously, the late Ante Paradzik and I signed an agreement on the creation of an anti-Serbian coalition together with Sali Berisha, the current president of Albania, and Filip Dimitrov, the current prime minister of Bulgaria, and with our signatures we committed ourselves to returning Serbia to its borders from before 1918, to the Belgrade pashaluk. And rest assured that this will happen. But that is not possible unless Belgrade catches hell.

Missiles Against Belgrade

[Dezulovic] How, through terrorist actions...? You have already spoken of the bombs that will explode in Belgrade?

[Paraga] Do you really think that we would apply some form of classic terrorism? I can tell you that land-to-land missiles are much more effective, and even more effective are F-16's or "Tornadoes," and thus missile attacks from the air....

[Dezulovic] Once again, however, it is the innocent population who is not responsible for the war that will suffer. I do not see an essential difference....

[Paraga] Our target is not the innocent population. I have designated the objectives—the General Staff, the headquarters of Slobodan Milosevic, the SANU and other institutions that are criminal in terms of their goals and current policy.

[Dezulovic] You sound as if you are already ready for this sort of thing, even technically?

[Paraga] I have said that the Croatian people will decide about this. If they are ready to move towards freedom,

then they will replace this government and give their confidence to us, who are in fact ready to immediately cross...

[Dezulovic] ... the Drina.

[Paraga] Yes. I have even seen amazement in the West about how the Croatian armed forces have still not taken the counteroffensive. You see, however, when Gorinsek tried to shift the front in Baranya, which is a kilometer from Osijek, three or four kilometers, Tudjman replaced him....

[Dezulovic] But in that campaign Gorinsek lost 15 people, as well as part of the territory that was controlled before the campaign.... In any event, it would be necessary to withdraw from that territory after the arrival of the blue helmets.

[Paraga] He would not have lost that territory if the message that Gorinsek was on the move had not been sent to Zagreb immediately. He lost that territory during the retreat, not during the foray. That retreat occurred because of his replacement; practically speaking, he did not even complete that campaign. Thus, we must now wage an offensive war. The goal of the Croatian Rights Party is not only to come to power, but also to transform the Ministry of Defense into a Ministry of War and wage an offensive war, which will lead Croatia into definitive freedom and Serbia into total defeat.

[Dezulovic] The West, however, is not overly enthusiastic about the idea of any sort of attack and counterattack at a time when an attempt is being made, through the arrival of the blue helmets, to create the conditions for a peaceful resolution of the Balkan knot....

[Paraga] Look, for this entire century this same West has not recognized Croatia as a fact, nor the Croatian nation as a people that exists and this is struggling for the return of its state, which existed long before the majority of European nations. This is avoided because the thrust of many appraisals has been to prefer supporting a Greece or, in this region, a Belgrade, rather than those who under natural law are moving towards the formation of independent national states. However, someone wanted to forcibly keep the Croatian and other non-Serbian nations in Greater Serbia or Yugoslavia. In this way, I too have continually encountered challenges in the West to the Croatian people's right to an independent state. Two years ago, I told—and not only told, but also won over a whole series of parties and movements around the world for the cause of Yugoslav disintegration, only for this to be interpreted in certain powerful circles in the West as neofascism, neo-Nazism....

Neo-Fascist Baggage

[Dezulovic] Can you explain why the West today would be against Croatian independence? This is again reminiscent of the theory about the Comintern-Vatican conspiracy against Serbia. What does this mean?

[Paraga] This is not hard to explain. Croatia did not choose Yugoslavia; Versailles is in France, not here. The major powers created Yugoslavia, rejecting all the principles from Wilson's Fourteen Points on the right of nations to self-determination.... Nor did the later Atlantic Charter apply to non-Serbian nations; rather, it once again effected the creation of Yugoslavia.

[Dezulovic] Yes, but why?

[Paraga] Quite simply, because it was accepted that Serbia was an ally and that it must be supported—if Serbia captures Kosovo, then it must be allowed to keep it as war booty, if it captures territory five times larger than Serbia, as far as the Triglava, then it must be allowed to keep it.... Serbia was supported in this way in order that it be a gendarme in the Balkans. Later, that state was helped like very few other countries in the world—name at least one other, including the USSR, that received as much Western aid as Tito's Yugoslavia. And today it is hard for these same political circles to accept the fact that Yugoslavia no longer exists.

[Dezulovic] The West, however, does not see neofascism in the very act of creating a Croatian state—after all, it came into being, practically speaking, through Western recognition. I assume that you were thinking of the antipathy with which Western democracy, which is civilizationally and physically founded on antifascism, views manifestations of neofascism among certain rightwing currents in the new European states, but also within their own states, among which they include your party?

[Paraga] When Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Gianni de Michelis alone welcomed Tudjman's decision to imprison me last December, I was amazed at how a democratic state like Italy could have such a bad and perverse minister who welcomes dictatorship and repression in a neighboring country, failing to see the essence of the matter, like those blind people, including certain U.S. diplomats, who today place equal blame for this war on Croatia and Serbia, reducing their responsibility to the lowest common denominator. In fact, I can only say that some people know nothing about Croatia and do not want to know, and some people consciously advance untruths, like Franjo Tudjman, in order to hide their responsibility for the current political and military situation....

[Dezulovic] I assume that by "advancing untruths" you mean interpretations of modern Croatian history and qualifications of the NDH [Independent State of Croatia, 1941-45] and the Ustashi movement, whose ideology has been adopted by your party, and because of which you are encountering the aforementioned opposition by the West?

[Paraga] There is nothing controversial here. This is simply historic necessity, and those are the facts. We must know that our founder, Ante Starcevic, died in 1896, and that our last chairman, party secretary, and future leader of the NDH, Dr. Ante Pavelic, died in 1959. Thus, 100 years separate this party from Starcevic's death, and 33 years separate it from Pavelic's

death. There is no doubt that the party, as a party, cannot arrogate the history of the Ustashi movement, which emerged after the party's activities were definitively thwarted. The Ustashi movement, however, emerged as a revolutionary organization, precisely as a response to the banning of the party in 1929. It is a fact that it comprised every single member of the Rights Party, such as Shufflay, Rudak Artukovic, and of course Dr. Pavelic, and others; so that we can say that the members of the Rights Party perpetuated the idea of the party even when that party no longer existed, through the Ustashi movement. Since the party has been reborn today, we have undertaken the revitalization of its ideas and goals, and we are ridding it of the baggage imposed by the communist dictatorship.

We Are Not Ustashi Apologists

[Dezulovic] As a respected world champion of human rights, how do you explain this current commitment to rehabilitating a state that was a monstrous machine for violating human rights?

[Paraga] Look, whatever the regime of the NDH did, it does not make that state right or wrong in the least. The NDH was created, and no matter how little right the regime had to violate human rights, even under the conditions of war in which the NDH existed, a thousand times more at fault are those who because of this fact set out to topple not the regime, but rather the Independent State of Croatia itself. But the actions, the policy, the leadership of the NDH... we are looking at that from a distance. Something may appear to us to be wrong, but we do not stand behind wrongful actions, regardless of how Croatian the Ustashi regime was. We are not some sort of apologists for the Ustashi in that we would defend it before anyone, just as we would not defend just any government in Croatia. However, if we do not like the Ustashi regime in the NDH, then we cannot declare the state itself to be fascist and criminal and do away with it as such.

[Dezulovic] You are trying basically to make the fundamental distinction between the NDH and its regime at the time. However, you have undertaken an intellectual and artistic view of the Ustashi movement, or rather of the NDH in terms of the apparatus of that regime, and not the state of the Croatian nation. Because its regime was fascist, perhaps you, as a champion of human rights, could explain that better than I.

[Paraga] The Ustashi regime was not fascist. When you talk about Zagreb-Berlin or Zagreb-Rome relations—this must also be said—these were relations between states. Did they cooperate with the Nazi party or with Mussolini? No. They cooperated with the representatives of the German state at the time. As a party they had nothing, nor did they have anything in common in their programs. They had conquest, annexation, the merger of territories, the creation of the Third Reich and of the

new Roman Empire.... The Ustashi movement had nothing of that, especially not race laws....

[Dezulovic] It will be a historiographic revolution if you can prove that to me, given the fact that the list of anti-Semitic laws in the NDH alone would take up half a page....

[Paraga] There was no racism in the principles of the Ustashi movement, although it is true that a few race laws were later adopted in the NDH, which was a serious mistake, and I am the first to condemn it. The NDH adopted such laws under pressure, and some very zealous functionaries of that state also implemented them, only to break with that practice later on and even find a way to get around that mechanism and see to it that such ordinances not be applied. However, these were serious anomalies by that regime, and were ultimately damaging to it as well.

[Dezulovic] In all the qualifications about the race laws in the NDH, it is regularly emphasized that they were damaging to the Ustashi regime. Why are they not regarded as grotesque, but at the very least damaging to Serbs or Jews?

[Paraga] Naturally, any reasonable person will condemn them, but there are also other facts that are systematically suppressed. In the weekly DANAS, I was recently the first one to mention Hannah Arendt, the Jewish philosopher, who wrote that only the Ustashi government in the NDH had a provision about honorary Aryans, whereby a Jew who was willing to declare his loyalty to the NDH could not only get by without suffering consequences, but could also work in the civil service. Wasn't the president of the military court in Ginj at the time a Jew, Ivo Korsky? We know that during the NDH there was a working Jewish community in Zagreb, but all of these are facts that, I tell you, people want to suppress in order to perpetuate the lie about some sort of fascist NDH, a lie supported by the domestic circles who destroyed the Croatian state at that time, and who are now in power, and well as by certain foreign circles who want to keep Croatia as a puppet and servant, and the Croatian people as slaves.

Ustashi—Antifascists!

[Dezulovic] You said that the Ustashi regime was not fascist....

[Paraga] No. Look, it may sound absurd, but the Ustashi movement was an antifascist movement.

[Dezulovic] It does sound absurd. Can you prove that?

[Paraga] Yes, I can. Because Dr. Ante Pavelic refused to renounce the primary principles of the Ustashi movement, he was imprisoned by Mussolini on several occasions, because he had found a party that accepted fascist ideology—the Radical Party of then-Prime Minister Milan Stojadinovic. He then arrested Pavelic, who spent two years in Italian prisons, not renouncing the ideology of the Ustashi movement and in fact writing *Strahota*

zabluda [*The Atrocity of Errors*], a book about communism in the Soviet Union in which he criticizes all forms of totalitarianism equally.

[Dezulovic] Pavelic's stay in Mussolini's bunker as an argument for his antifascism would be enough to brand Tudjman as anti-Bolshevist today. Can a regime be antifascist in which all the elements of fascism in their essential form have been incorporated into the apparatus—mass murder, racism, totalitarian dictatorship...?

[Paraga] I can say that it is difficult to find proof—regardless of the later ordinances on the Aryan origins of the Croats—that the mass persecution of the Serbs, Gypsies, and others was carried out simply because of their non-Croat origin. I would never say that the Serbs were persecuted simply because they were Serbs....

[Dezulovic] ???

[Paraga] The repressive apparatus against them was launched due to their mass armed uprising against the NDH during the first days of its existence. This is also a historical truth, just as it is a historical truth that others at that time also punished and imprisoned their adversaries on a large scale. We know what happened to the Japanese in the United States after Pearl Harbor—over night, they were all imprisoned in camps, and kept there for the entire war! Some Croats as well, such as Branko Jetic, a member of the HSP presidency before the war—who, by the way, never set foot in the NDH—spent the entire war imprisoned in London. To get back to what I was saying, these are Western democracies that are now accusing the Croatian nation of being fascist, which it has never been.

Boycott of the Elections?

[Dezulovic] Let us return, however, to the present, or rather to the immediate future. Will you participate in the elections that are being announced increasingly loudly for not too far into the future?

[Paraga] I see the elections as a chance to change the government, and we will try to live up to that task and establish a good level of supervision over electoral units. Because if we do not have that supervision, then we will certainly be cheated. The two years of this government are two years of deception for the Croatian nation. They must lose the elections.... They could win in Zagreb and those parts of Croatia that have not experienced war....

[Dezulovic] The situation is a little reminiscent of the Serbian pre-election atmosphere. Are you, like the opposition there at the time, working on a boycott variant, and could you repeat their mistake and participate in elections if they are not regular and under full international control?

[Paraga] Yes, we have regular consultation with other opposition parties and a prepared backup variant—thus, a boycott of the elections. If Franjo Tudjman really

thinks that he will hold elections on 1 or 3 June, then he will face being branded a dictator around the world. The HSP, like other opposition parties, will do everything it can to depict and show him to be equivalent to Slobodan Milosevic, because in that case—if the campaign is irregular and unjust—we will announce a boycott, and the HDZ will be able to hold the elections with itself only.... So let them prove that there is democracy in Croatia and that these are regular elections. That will only dig their grave even faster.

[Box, p 10]

Scourge of God and Money of This World

[Paraga] I regard not only the sale of eastern Slavonia as national betrayal, but also many other things that are happening in Croatia, including here, in Split. It would be wrong of me to leave Split without pointing out the abuse and tremendous damage inflicted on the city by people from the leadership ranks of the ruling party. For example, it has been two years since the athletic championship of Europe in Split, while there is no mention whatsoever of the background of underhanded games and abuses of enormous financial resources. However, we are talking here about millions of dollars. Ante Katavic, the director of the Hotel Split work unit, which at the time was under construction for the needs of the championship, signed various documents and agreements on behalf of the "Gradski Hotels" enterprise, without any authorization, with the "Ivan Lucic Lavcevic" construction enterprise, according to which it will finance construction of the hotel. It is interesting who falsified the documents so that the workers' council of "Gradski Hotels" adopted such a decision that will lead the firm to its demise: It was Frane Konti, who, although he has neither the training nor the expertise, because of the falsification of that document was rewarded generously by Antun Vrdoljak, the top person in the championship, and his people by receiving the director's chair of the Hotel Split. It is no coincidence that Vrdoljak stays at that hotel whenever he is in Split. He and other HDZ politicians are responsible for wrecking in a Mafia manner the Gradski Hotels, now the Adriatica [Hotels]. Director Branko Zlodre, who was the only one authorized to sign the documents, did not even see them, much less sign them, so that the "Gradski Hotels" are being plundered for several million dollars. That company also failed because of 460,000 German marks which it had to spend, against its will and under orders from then-general director Nenad Grgin and Gordana Kosanovic, for renovation of the "Dalmatia" villa, in which the beloved president was to stay during the championship. A similar thing happened with the "Cestar" enterprise and several other companies. All of this shows how corrupt the government in Croatia is, and how little the law applies to them.

[Dezulovic] Are you afraid of new charges after this interview?

[Paraga] No, I am not afraid. I have learned to fight for the truth through the courts, and I am always ready to show, even in court, that Croatia is under a dictatorship.

[Box, p 11]

Tudjman the Falsifier

[Paraga] After the last interview for SLOBODNA DALMACIA in January, the district attorney's office in Split, about a month and a half later, brought criminal charges and launched an inquiry against me, and the president of the inquiry division of the District Court in Zagreb subpoenaed me for questioning, where I learned that I was being charged under Article 197 of the Criminal Code with spreading false reports and libel against the president of the republic, and that I faced five years imprisonment—because of an interview in which I put forward the fact that eastern Slavonia had been sold out through the Hague Agreement, and that that agreement was adopted "with the consent of the president of the republic." At the time, I called that an act of national betrayal.

[Dezulovic] Did you get new subpoenas after that?

[Paraga] No, but I did get a bomb planted at the party's headquarters during a visit to Vinkovci.

[Dezulovic] Naturally, you continue to maintain that eastern Slavonia has been sold out?

[Paraga] Naturally. After he returned from the conference, Tudjman published a falsified text of the agreement that did not contain what was found in the original, and that is that eastern Slavonia is removed from the composition of the Republic of Croatia.

[Dezulovic] ... and from the geography books.

[Paraga] I think that that was no coincidence either; those were the dealings of the same circles who thought that western Hercegovina would serve to compensate for eastern Slavonia and Baranya. Because western Hercegovina, and not those regions, had been armed, even though the priority at the time was Slavonia, while war in Hercegovina was still a long way off. And even there, weapons were not distributed to the defenders of Hercegovina, but rather sold to them. That too is known....

'Secrets' of 'Presidential Airplane' Viewed

92BA0909B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
28 Apr 92 pp 20-21

[Article by Veceslav Kocijan and Zeljko Ivankovic:
"How the Presidents Fly"]

[Text] However insensitive it might be to other "missteps" of the Croatian Government, the revelation of an airplane purchased to meet the needs of the president and the government has evoked quite a bit of bitterness and reproaches in a half-hungry population.

There are still quite a few secrets about the purchase of the "president's airplane," from the amount that was paid all the way to the name under which the super-luxury aircraft is registered.

Its markings (N 601 CC) indicates that the aircraft is registered in the United States, so that by law it ought to have on its tail the "Stars and Stripes"—the flag of the United States. However, it is evident from tape of Croatian TV of the president's arrival that instead of the American flag on the tail, it has the seal of the president of the Republic of Croatia. So, not the great seal of Croatia?! Much less the Stars and Stripes. It is obvious that the officials of the airports where his airplane lands pretend not to see those small violations of a president of a small state. It is difficult to break through the "information" blockade on the question of who is actually the owner of the new member of the Croatian aircraft fleet, but from circles close to the president it is said that it is owned by the office of the president of the Republic of Croatia, although even that is not certain.

The government is justifying the immense investment by saying that the old airplane that carried the Croatian Supreme Command is uncomfortable (Sabre Liner, still in operating condition and still owned by the RH [Republic of Croatia]), which belongs to the category of exclusive short- and medium-range aircraft. But what is exclusive on the world scale is obviously not exclusive enough for our politicians. What is more, they say it was not possible to work in the old aircraft. For example, the flight to Paris, which takes about 45 minutes, represents time in which quite a bit could be done of use to Croatia.

In a recent interview with GLOBUS, Zarko Domljan, president of the Croatian Assembly, said that "Croatia is the only republic of former Yugoslavia which had only one government airplane. Even Macedonia has two." Leaving aside that none of the former republics of former Yugoslavia has been destroyed the way Croatia has been, Croatia which urgently needs money to ease the growling of the stomach of a hungry people. We tried in the international airplane register to find proof of Domljan's assertion about the Croatian "aircraft lag." It says there that the Macedonian state leadership possesses only one airplane—a Lear Jet 25—whose value does not exceed \$2 million. The Bosnian Government is the owner of a Cessna Citation C-500, a plane still cheaper than the Macedonian plane, the top leadership of Serbia and Montenegro does not possess its airplanes, but uses three aircraft of the former FEC [Federal Executive Council], while the Slovenian Government flies in a Lear Jet 25 just like the Macedonian plane, and another more expensive plane—Lear Jet 35—has been purchased in a deal with the airline Adria Airways.

Defending the decision to buy the plane, the president of the Croatian Assembly says that "negotiations for its purchase began before the war," but the airplane was purchased just about the time that Vukovar fell (there was a shortage of arms for defending it), and at that time it was at the airport in Graz until Croatian airspace was

opened up. The conditions under which the plane was purchased still have not been presented in public, but Zarko Domljan, always ready for a "joke," said in the same interview: "We got the new airplane at a considerably lower price because it had a proportionately low number of flight-hours." Of course, the more an airplane has been flown and used up, it is logical that the price should be lower. We do know that in 1989 a Challenger like that of the president's was displayed in Belgrade at a presentation for the federal bodies interested at that time, and then the price was \$17 million—unpainted.

And until detailed figures on the entire transaction are presented to the Assembly and the people, it remains for us to see how these things are done in the West.

We will not compare President Tudjman with kings, but let it be known that King Olaf of Sweden often traveled officially on regular airlines, and the English queen travels, it is true, in a much larger plane, but it is almost 20 years old, and at a price very close to that of the property of the president's office. In other countries of Europe, the governments and presidents mainly do not have their own planes, but use those owned by the army or, for example, in Denmark, the same airplane—Grumman Gulf Stream (20 years old, value several hundred thousand dollars) is used both to transport the government and also for search and rescue operations. It is evident in the international register that Switzerland, Hungary, Greece... do not have any special airplanes for transporting the top government leadership.

According to an article in the German SPIEGEL, an entire affair might break out over Chancellor Kohl's desire to purchase two new Airbus 340's, with a great deal of luxury equipment, for his trips. When Rudi Walthers, chairman of the budget committee, learned of the secret activities involved in ordering luxury aircraft, he immediately demanded a detailed report and debated it the other day in a meeting of the committee. Even George Bush, President of the United States, was recently fiercely criticized because of abuse of "his" Air Force 1 aircraft, which is part of the American Air Force, and because of its excessive use at budget expense. What is more, he had to make up tens of thousands of dollars out of his own pocket, but that was not enough to quiet the criticism. Perhaps it is not out of the way to add that the trip to Canada in our "president's airplane" took about eight and a half hours, and the cost per flight-hour (fuel, depreciation, and other costs), informed sources say, ranges between \$3,000 and \$6,000. That really is a bottomless hole.

The issue of the president's airplane, viewed from the standpoint of the system, did not spring up yesterday. When democracy came on the scene, there were demands in the newspapers that the new government present to the public its financial condition before taking office. The case was made for the demand in mild terms, which is to say logically, under the motto "to see how this is done in the world of advanced democracy." No mention was even made that the new government might

repeat the mistakes of the old administration, because there was simply the intention of forgetting about its financial abuses—to some extent because it turned over power in a civilized way, but mainly because the intention was to build democracy in the general enthusiasm in ways that were civilized and sensible, that is, with as little revanchism as possible. But the new people did not show equal enthusiasm for grafting democratic achievements onto a society unaccustomed to civilized ways of doing things. They spent more time with people who were not burdened with financial difficulties and who could put an ox on the spit and arrange immense and expensive celebrations.

It thus turned out once again that democratic customs are not created by mere goodwill, but under pressure. At the outset, the government "of one of the most democratic countries in the world" had the strength to arrogantly refuse to allow the public to see its financial capabilities and preferences, and then came the war, when it was prohibited to ask anything in connection with the disposition of money. Today, in spite of the war, the pressure has become too great. First, it was the housing of officials that came to the surface, but in that affair, still following the old habit that some people are untouchable, it was almost entirely overlooked that accounts concerning housing were not consistently presented in connection with refurbishing the house of Franjo Tudjman, president of the republic. Jurlina and people like him were branded in public.

The president's airplane opened up the public discussion, although a party official, specifically Bozo Kovacevic, long ago raised the question of the swimming

pool built for the president. Today, listeners who call in on talk radio are calculating how far \$18 million would go in buying medicine, tanks, and food—things which are not only useful, but also obviously necessary. When the average salary, slightly more than 100 marks, is not enough for a poor diet, then buying an airplane, especially at the time of the fiercest attacks on Vukovar, seems like cynicism on the order of if you do not have bread, then eat cake, and must arouse bitterness—for now, nothing more than that. Although perhaps it still has not been paid for, a matter that we cannot speak about with confidence, because the accounts have not been spread out for the public to see. At that time, the reproaches of the trade union to the effect that the petitions and strike threats were part of the scenario to bring down the government by accentuating social rebellion were also cynical. The purchase of the president's airplane suggests that only the government is preparing that scenario.

Although all comparisons with the West seem forced in this case, it is worth remembering the old story about the operation on former American President Reagan's buttocks, which in proper communications is not referred to by its popular name. The yellow press, perhaps without taste, made so much of the affair that Nancy Reagan protested in public, which itself was on the verge of scandal. And she was rapped on the knuckles. One of the most prestigious American columnists explained to the ruffled spouse: We pay taxes to support the President's bodyguards. So, the President's body is public property, and the public has the right to ask about it and know about it.

International

Presidency 'Shocked' By 'Massacre' in Sarajevo

LD2705214392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2052 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency was shocked by the latest crime committed against the innocent civilian population of Sarajevo, the Presidency announced this evening.

The Presidency continued: At a time when it seemed that conditions were present for ending bloody clashes in Bosnia-Herzegovina—by signing the latest cease-fire agreement, by continuing talks in Lisbon between representatives of the three constituent nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and by launching a broad humanitarian operation to help citizens of Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina in general—an unprecedented massacre of Sarajevo citizens was carried out. This could have been done only by someone who did not want a cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Yugoslav Presidency most strongly condemns the culprits and those who gave the orders for this horrible massacre of men, women, and children, and demands that whoever they are, they be found and brought to justice.

Assessing this behavior in Sarajevo as absolutely unacceptable—because it transcends the limits of anything civilized and human—the Yugoslav Presidency, for its part, will do everything in its power so that the process of finding a peaceful solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis will not be interrupted, and so that solutions can be found as soon as possible to ensure peaceful life for all three constituent nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

JNA 'Condemns' Attack

LD2705191792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG)—The latest killing of innocent civilians in Sarajevo is an unprecedented act, all the more so in the light of the latest cease-fire agreement. It is an event that directly jeopardizes the world community's efforts to find a peaceful solution and put an end to the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, according to a statement of the Yugoslav Army General Staff following the latest developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the same time this act drastically hampers the efforts of the Yugoslav Army General Staff to complete, peacefully and without casualties, the evacuation of cadets and soldiers out of the Muslims' encirclement in Sarajevo. The latest tragic events will boost and fuel the efforts of hostile factors in the world to condemn Yugoslavia and its army as the sole and single perpetrator behind the events in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Yugoslav Army General Staff is doing, and will do, its best to put an end to the bloodshed and civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

To this effect, the Yugoslav Army General Staff condemns in the sharpest terms the latest events in Sarajevo and demands that those responsible for this tragic event be immediately found and severely punished, the statement says.

Protest Lodged With France Over Croatian Attack

LD2805100992 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0601 GMT 28 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—The Foreign Ministry in Belgrade on Wednesday sharply protested with the charge d'affaires of the French Embassy over the inadequate protection of the Yugoslav Cultural Centre in Paris in an attack by Croatian extremists on Tuesday. The attack occurred at the opening of an exposition on atrocities committed by the Croatian Army against Serb civilians in Vukovar during last year's war. About 1,000 Croatian chauvinists and extremists attacked the centre, injuring dozens of people and demolishing the premises. French police had provided a highly inadequate protection of the exposition and, although having banned any gathering of Croats, reacted only after the Croatian vandals had charged the centre.

The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry asked that the perpetrators be prosecuted and the Yugoslav staff and premises in France adequately protected. Belgrade expressed the hope that France would take the proper steps.

The three channels of the French television recorded the riot outside the Yugoslav Cultural Centre, but not the opening of the exposition at which the French public could for the first time see pictures of the Vukovar tragedy in which several thousand Serb civilians were massacred. The French press on Wednesday ignored the exhibition, but carried the protest of Croatian Information Minister Branko Salaj over its opening.

Federal

Conditions Ready for 31 May Elections

LD2705224192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2153 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 27 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia on Wednesday said all conditions have been created for holding local elections in Serbia and elections for the federal parliament, set for May 31.

A government statement came as a reply to the initiative of 22 opposition deputies in the Serbian parliament, who requested the republican Constitutional Court to rule whether the decision to hold the elections was constitutional.

The initiative is based on the fact that the elections were called during imminent threat of war and the deadline for holding them was not set by the parliament, but the parliament speaker.

The Constitutional Court of Serbia will review the opposition deputies' initiative on Thursday.

A large part of the Serbian opposition, including even the strongest opposition parliamentary parties—the Serbian Renewal Movement and the Democratic Party—said they would boycott the elections also because the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia has the decisive support of most media in the republic.

The head of the executive committee of the Democratic Party, Zoran Djindjic, said on Wednesday his party expected the Constitutional Court to declare unconstitutional the decision on holding local elections in Serbia.

Djindjic said in that case, the Democratic Party would also demand the postponement of the federal elections because, as he put it, "a part of their election campaign was held in conditions of immediate threat of war."

The Yugoslav Presidency declared an imminent threat of war early last October, and called it off on May 20.

Serbia and Montenegro, the republics of former Yugoslavia, on April 27 formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in order to ensure the country's legal continuity after the secession of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. Along with the local elections in Serbia, elections for the new federal parliament will be held on May 31.

The Federal Election Commission announced on Wednesday that 138 deputies for the chamber of Citizens of the Yugoslav parliament—108 from Serbia and 30 from Montenegro—are to be elected on Sunday.

Commission President Rajko Nisavic told a news conference in Belgrade on Wednesday that 790 candidates from 23 parties—13 from Serbia and 10 from Montenegro—would run for the 138 parliament seats.

According to Nisavic, the ruling parties in Serbia and Montenegro (Socialist Party of Serbia and Democratic Party of Socialists), put up the most candidates.

The election commission will include one representative of the five parties which nominated their candidates in over two-thirds of the electoral units, which was the condition for their inclusion in the commission's work.

Nisavic recalled that the law did not envisage a minimum number of voters who are to cast their ballot at the federal elections for them to be valid, and that a second round of elections is not envisaged by law.

For the local elections in Serbia to be valid, at least 50 percent of the electorate must turn up in the first round on Sunday.

According to the president of the Federal Election Commission, the results of the federal elections should not be expected before June 2, and the first session of the new parliament was due in mid-June.

Shifts in Army Leadership Analyzed

92BA0925A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
12 May 92 p 13

[Article by Stanko Zivkovic: "Doubt About the Real Changes"]

[Text] The (un)expected pensioning of a group of 38 generals of the former Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and resignation of General Blagoje Adzic, acting federal secretary for national defense, have aroused intensified attention of the Yugoslav and world public. This event has briefly pushed into the background the flaming events of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H]. Military analysts and chroniclers of political, economic, and excessively gloomy war conditions and troubles are trying to reveal the political and military background of this move by the SFRY Presidency, whose term is running out. However, the "freshness" of this act and the extremely short historical distance do not allow the expected all-inclusiveness and thoroughness of comment which these events otherwise would deserve in any country, especially when the state is shaken by the conflicts of war and civil war of everyone against everyone else until no one is left, which is what is being waged on the soil of the former Yugoslavia.

Incompetent Generals

It is quite certain that the public of the republics which have committed themselves to living in a common state and maintaining the continuity of the state whose legality and legitimacy are unjustifiably being disputed by the most influential international factors for quite a long time now has longed for and expected this kind of radical personnel incision. The army of a state whose basic external principle of existence was to serve an ideology, a party, and a leader who headed it, was condemned to ruin in advance following the physical death of the leader and destruction of his political and every other kind of legacy. The personality cult and glorification of the commander in chief received a significant contribution from the army itself, which was at his service, especially those of its members who claimed or received laurel leaves on their shoulders during the life and indeed even some 50 years after the leader's physical disappearance. It was clear to realistic analysts and objective observers that along with the inevitable departure of their supreme commander from the historical scene those whom he fostered and raised in the military ranks would also leave sooner or later.

Assuming that there is room for warranted criticism of a tardy memory, we must observe once again that the top military leadership we had until just recently, and also the individuals that were gathered around it, committed

a number of mistakes. Any insistence on interpretation of the causes of the grave social crisis and war in which we have found ourselves in terms of only one factor would be a gross simplification not worth serious discussion. It is certain that there are many causes and that they are multilevel, external and internal, and strike deep into the fields of history, economics, politics, sociology, political science, psychology, as well as other scientific fields. However, it is incontestable that the army, especially the leadership that had the helm in its hands, made an immense contribution to this kind of orientation and development of our social and political crisis. It is completely evident even now that the generals displayed an utter lack of skill when it comes to politics. This fact is not as surprising as the tragic truth that these same people also displayed military incompetence. Only those who have no children will never be able to understand the tremblings for young hearts faced with the danger of death. The question arises whether the lives of young soldiers ready to sacrifice themselves for a country known to have been betrayed in advance should have been entrusted to them? The answer is certainly not.

The resignation of the acting federal secretary for national defense and the "collective" retiring of the generals, including those who are nationals of certain neighboring states with a hostile disposition toward the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will encourage many, but most of all members of the new future army. Insistence on the term "new army" is no accident, because the army of the third Yugoslavia must be radically different from the previous one. All the topics concerning reform of the old army and its transformation into the new one under the pressure of reality are futile. This thesis is being persistently advanced by precisely those who have been very close to the top military leadership, and their resistance at the moment to the trouble that has befallen the generals being retired arouses suspicion that the inevitable changes in the army will not be accomplished fast enough and will not go deep enough.

The List of Those Retired Is Incomplete

The Yugoslav public is well aware that certain officers defended Mamula when the upstart Slovene youth officials and journalists of MLADINA wrote about the illegal construction of his villa in Opatija.

There was much criticism and there have been many critics of the army and its leadership. The price must be paid for what was done and not done. However, can the bill be collected by even those critics in army circles who display their "courage" as officers and journalists by always attacking only those generals and high military officials who have "fallen"? Where is the ethics of those who yesterday heaped such public praise on Kadijevic, Adzic, Brovet, Zivota Avramovic, Milutin Kukanjac, and who now, after they have left the military scene once and for all, are attacking them angrily and with quite a bit of malice, attributing to them even perhaps what does not belong to them? There is also confirmation that there

is no end to their fawning and lackeyism in the fact that they have come to defense of the rising general, Vuk Obradovic, although no one has attacked him in public nor disputed his abilities. Those same people are loudest in their demands that the army become professional, forgetting at the same time that if this were authentically achieved, there would be no place for them, because they have almost no military knowledge at all. What they learned when they attended military academies was the use of the cavalry, and the essential thing today is a knowledge of computers and their use in planning and carrying out combat operations. They took no advantage of the occasion to learn something of the art of war and tactics in this war, because they were deathly afraid of even the idea of setting foot in the crisis areas.

Recently, a debate was conducted in the pages of the newspaper POLITIKA between Dusan Pekic, a distinguished national hero, and a certain Major Misa Bojovic. Bojovic addressed quite a few reproaches to Gen. Pekic because he openly indicated those principally to blame for mistakes committed by those who until recently were the leaders in the JNA. Of course, in this case the major was only the executor of the punishment which had been pronounced against Pekic by a general who cannot boast either of any heroism on the battlefield nor of having even spent one day at the front. That general, when the SK-PJ [League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia] was formed, took the decisive position in one semiclosed meeting that all those who do not consent to collective enrollment in this party, and we have come to see what prospects it had, should have to leave the army. However, he is not on the list of those being retired.

The public will perhaps be satisfied with the recent personnel incision, but members of the army, who have the best awareness of how various people have behaved in this war, certainly will not be. The army will be that old army so long as it still includes those who were in the immediate vicinity of those recently retired. Precisely those who wrote their speeches, furnished them information, and gave them advice. It is nonsense to suppose that the generals were deaf to their advice and suggestions. The physicians were exceedingly concerned about their health.

Serbia

Foreign Minister on 'Tragic' Sarajevo Attack

LD2805032892 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0018 GMT 28 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 27 (TANJUG)—Vladislav Jovanovic, Serbia's minister of foreign affairs, had sharp words to say Wednesday evening about the massacre of civilians in Sarajevo today, stressing that this act of crime cannot be justified by anything regardless of which side committed it.

Sixteen people got killed and another 114 wounded in the centre of Sarajevo Wednesday when a mortar shell

hit the spot on which citizens of the civil-war hit chief city of Bosnia-Herzegovina, central Yugoslavia, were waiting for bread in a queue.

"We in Serbia and in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia saw this tragic event as a direct attack from behind, and this in a perfidious manner not only to human lives but also to the efforts our country has been making very sincerely and actively for stopping this horrible hell of a fratricidal war," Minister Jovanovic emphasized in his statement to TV Belgrade.

Milosevic, French Official Discuss Crisis

LD2705200792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1854 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG)—It has been revealed that President of the Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic has received Jacques Blot, an undersecretary in the French Foreign Ministry, and his aides.

The talks focused on ways of resolving the Yugoslav crisis, in particular on efforts to normalize the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was stressed that the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have been making continuous efforts to bring about a peaceful and just resolution of the crisis in line with their firm orientation and stands, which they have been advocating since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis. In spite of this, Serbia and Yugoslavia are being exposed to unjustified pressures and threats.

Serbia and Yugoslavia are urging an immediate and unconditional cessation of armed hostilities and the safe transport of humanitarian aid for the endangered people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In line with this, it is necessary to ensure that the blockade of the Sarajevo airport is lifted immediately. As far as the ending of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina is concerned, both sides stressed the stance that it is necessary to resolve outstanding issues at the conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina through agreement between the representatives of the three national parties.

Jovic Terms U.S. Pressure 'Crude,' 'Bestial'

LD2705201492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 27 May 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG)—Today, Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) Chairman Borisav Jovic said at a campaign rally of the ruling party held at the trade unions club in Belgrade that Serbia has not yet seen elections more important than the ones called for 31 May.

"By voting in the elections, we shall preserve the state," Jovic said. He heads the list of SPS candidates for the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY].

Speaking at the rally promoting SPS candidates from the capital for federal and local bodies, Jovic assessed that the citizens of Serbia understand that the elections are

important because "some European and American countries are exerting crude and bestial pressure, threatening international isolation, and an economic and financial blockade of the country."

"As the elections approach, they are displaying an increasing degree of nervousness and passion toward our country," Jovic said. He noted that the persistence with which these powers want to prove that Yugoslavia has disintegrated fully is almost unbelievable, especially bearing in mind the fact that Serbia and Montenegro have decided to continue to live together in the FRY.

For this, Jovic noted, "they found domestic traitors who are championing their interests, although it has become clear that the people understand their intentions."

Jovic maintains that the citizens understand that "bullies from abroad are denying them the right to their state," and thereby peace and freedom, and they, as before, "will not succumb to force and injustice."

"If they managed with the help of domestic separatists and secessionists to cause bloody international clashes in the dismembered parts of Yugoslavia, they should be satisfied with this but they should not blame us for such tragic consequences of their policies," Jovic said. He concluded by stating that despite his deep sympathy for victims of such policies, the citizens of Serbia have enough to do in their own state. [passage omitted]

Democratic Movement Aims, Support Viewed

LD2605131392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1204 GMT 26 May 92

[By Branislava Stanisic]

[Text] Belgrade, May 25 (TANJUG)—The Democratic Movement of Serbia (Depos), founded last weekend in Belgrade with the aim of bringing about democratic and political changes within the society, has already been joined by 3,500 citizens.

The new political forum, which enjoys wide public support, was initiated by 50 or so intellectuals at a time when Serbia faces a number of unjust accusations and terrifying threats from abroad, ranging from various economic sanctions to a full-scale military intervention.

The forming of Depos is also an attempt to overcome a fatal rift in Serbia itself over its national interests and how to achieve them.

The Depos assembly rallies some of the most prominent Serbian academicians, scientists, artists, journalists, politicians and writers. Prominent writers such as Matija Beckovic, Slobodan Selenic and Ljubomir Simovic, painter Mica Popovic, film director Aleksandar Petrovic and the leaders of Serbia's strongest opposition parties—Vuk Draskovic of the Serbian Renewal Movement

(SPO), Nikola Milosevic of the Serbian Liberal Party and Zoran Djindjic of the Democratic Party—are all members of the assembly.

The forum's primary aim is a peaceful establishment of a true democratic state, as specified in its founding document. In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to call elections for a constituent assembly.

This is why Depos has asked for the calling off of the elections for a parliament and president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, formed by the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro after the other four Yugoslav republics had declared secession from the [words indistinct] the elections have been scheduled for May 31.

Depos has proposed that the elections for a constituent assembly be organized through a round table dialogue between the ruling party, the opposition and influential non-party factors. Depos has threatened to call on the citizens to boycott the upcoming local and federal elections should the ruling party turn down its proposal.

The Serbian authorities do not accept the idea of a constituent assembly, explaining that such a move would put an end to Yugoslavia's continuity and force the country out of various international forums.

This is why the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia and a part of the opposition have appealed on the citizens to vote at the upcoming elections and show that they care for the new, reconstructed Yugoslavia.

However, Depos maintains that a constituent assembly is necessary in order to determine a new political system in Serbia. The movement has proposed that Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjevic, the son of the last Serbian king, Petar II, be allowed to return to Serbia, and that the constituent assembly subsequently decide whether Serbia should be a monarchy or a republic.

Some of the founding members of Depos told the Belgrade daily BORBA that one of the reasons for its founding was the absence of political communication between the ruling party and the opposition, as well as between parliamentary and non-parliamentary opposition.

Ljubomir Simovic maintains that the forming of Depos was also motivated by the need to overcome problems. "Our woes are multiplying, our position is deteriorating and our very survival is questioned," he said.

Borislav Mihajlovic Mihiz, a writer, maintains that Serbia's unenviable position is a consequence of the ruling party's incapability to guide the country of the crisis peacefully.

A Depos spokesman, Professor Vladeta Jankovic, told the Belgrade daily POLITIKA that the movement has pledged to achieve political unity among the Serbs, who—as he put it—"remained tragically divided after Yugoslavia's disintegration."

Depos includes the leaders of the two strongest parliamentary opposition parties—the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) and the Democratic Party—and the leaders of two non-parliamentary opposition parties, the Serbian Liberal Party and the New Democratic Movement for Serbia.

Depos has not been formed as a political party, but as an association offering membership to individuals as well as collectives. SPO leader Vuk Draskovic has already announced that his party will probably join the movement.

Seselj Stresses Aim for Serbian State

AU2605084392 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 May 92 p 11

[Z. Miladinovic report: "Traitors and Candidates"]

[Text] Nis—Two nights ago, on the central Sindjelic Square in Nis, in front of several thousand people, a pre-election meeting was held by the Serbian Radical Party. Vojislav Seselj spoke in support of his own party at this peaceful gathering, and he also called out the names of traitors. Meanwhile, in the Nis communal assembly, Milan Paroski, president of the National Party, held a news conference, at which he spoke of his party's conditions for participating at the coming elections, and what it had to offer if it did.

Seselj underlined the unrelenting aim of his party—the reconstruction of a Serbian state, which would include, apart from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [SRJ], Serbian Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbian Dubrovnik, Serbian Dalmatia, Serbian Lika, Serbian Kordun, Serbian Slavonija, and Serbian Macedonia. He stated that the SRJ secured the continuation of the Serbian state, and that nobody could deny it membership in the UN. America "broke its teeth", he said, trying to get Yugoslavia excluded from the CSCE.

Stressing that the Serbian people had not bowed in front of greater forces, Seselj said that Serbia would endure all pressure again. He said that Serbia had won the war for the Serbian Krajinas, and, apart from various opposition parties, named in particular Veljko Kadijevic as "an American spy, who did all he could to ruin his own army."

Unlike Seselj, who claimed that participation in the elections was first and foremost a patriotic act, Paroski said that his party would come out in the elections, because it had rejected in its program the revolutionary overthrowing of communists from power. It would try to do so in the elections, and "not by arms".

He said that his party would put forward two candidates for the majority list, and two for the proportional list of the Federal Assembly. However, he said, it could still happen that at midnight on 30 May, his party decides not to take part in the elections, if, in his words, the authorities make "any kind of undemocratic incident."

He revealed that, among others, the independent candidates of the National Party would include Milovan Ilic-Minimaks, and Bora Djordjevic-Corba, and that his party was still negotiating with Merima Isakovic.

Law on Financing of Political Parties Adopted

92BA0939B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
15 May 92 p 8

[Article by M. Anojcic, D. Stevanovic, and M. Rajic: "Law on Financing of Parties Adopted"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] Political organizations will be financed by the republic's budget; 75 million for the parties' preelection activities, and 164 million dinars for annual work; discussion of the law on secondary education.

Yesterday the deputies of the Serbian National Assembly, by a majority of votes, passed the Law on Financing Political Organizations, in urgent proceedings at the request of the government.

There were contradictory opinions in the discussion, which lasted for less than an hour and a half, from the opinion that the law should have been passed earlier, to the opinion that Serbia is not in a situation now in which it can make allocations for the parties. The draft law per se was mostly not challenged, and thus the opinion prevailed that the financing of parties should be legalized, as is customary in many democratic states.

The first one to take the floor in the discussion of the Law on Financing Parties was Vojislav Seselj (SRS [Serbian Radical Party]), who spoke out against allocating money from the republic budget for political parties, and proposed that these funds be distributed to wounded veterans, invalids, and the families of casualties. In explaining why he was against the law, Seselj said that the criterion for establishing parties in Serbia had been lowered to extreme limits, so that out of the 75 parties, in 55 cases these parties consisted of one person. The deputy also supported free competition and financing through membership dues and voluntary contributions.

Speaking about the draft law, Minister of Justice Zoran Cetkovic said that financing of the work and activities of political organizations and preelection activities from local to federal elections was planned. The amount from the budget would be determined annually, and would be distributed monthly on the basis of the number of deputies and the number of votes in the first round. The law provides for a one-time payment to parties on the basis of results from past elections. The financing of the preelection campaign for the elections scheduled for 31 May has also been regulated.

The Serbian government agreed to propose the law on financing parties through urgent proceedings, designing it on the basis of the experiences of several European countries, in order to resolve these issues fairly and give equal chances to all political organizations, Cetkovic said.

Twice as Much Money

Mikus Jano (GG [Group of Citizens]) agreed with the minister that certain countries financed parties, but explained that every day he traveled by bus and saw that people were living catastrophically because parents could not buy their children basic items. He agreed that candidates should be assisted in their preelection activities, and commented that the candidates of the Group of Citizens were not equal once again, because funds were not provided for them. Mihajlo Markovic (SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement]) quoted an article from "the official newspaper POLITIKA—I won't say whose" in which Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic confirmed that the law should have been passed earlier, without interrupting the discussion the day before on the draft law on secondary education, while war invalids from Serbia, which was not at war, were standing in front of the Assembly. Markovic was most critical because one party and the government, which did not have any interest in this law at all, were to pass it in order to bribe the opposition to participate in the elections and give these authorities legitimacy.

"This law discourages an opposition coalition," the deputy said, and he proposed that the adoption of the law be postponed.

Aleksandar Simic (SPS [Serbian Socialist Party]) said that the opposition would be critical whether elections were scheduled or not, and whether money was provided or not.

Minister Zoran Cetkovic, answering Markovic, said that he was very glad that articles from POLITIKA were being quoted, but that this did not have anything to do with the proposed law. The minister then explained that the government had announced the adoption of this law when the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] was adopted and the elections were scheduled, and that it had agreed to have it go through urgent proceedings. The law provides for twice as much money for the parties as regulations had provided to date, and there is no country in which a party is fully financed, Cetkovic explained.

Milos Vojovic, the chairman of the legislative committee, said that the only undisputed thing was that the law could have been passed earlier, but that this was the right moment to pass it. Zoran Andjelkovic (SPS) also shared Simic's opinion that some of the parties had been setting the adoption of this law as a condition for elections, but now felt that it should not be passed, which was incorrect, to put it mildly.

Citizens Define a Party's Standing

Zoran Horvan (SPO) commented that if this law had been offered three months ago he would have accepted

it, but that it was painfully obvious that it was being offered before the elections. It had to do with the SPS's panic, and consequently the adoption of the law should be postponed and it should be discussed more thoroughly, since at least three months would be needed for the parties to feel the effects of the law, Horvan said. Vljako Jovic, chairman of the finance committee, also proposed that the law be discussed during the coming weeks. He noted that his committee had not had any comments on the law. In his opinion, however, it should have been proposed earlier so that the deputies would have more time for specific comments. Aleksandar Bakocevic, the president of the Assembly, noted that the committee chairman had taken a different position from the committee; Jovic responded that this was his own personal opinion.

Aleksandar Prlja (SPS) explained that in listening to Horvan, he realized that this was the time for the opposition to win, since in his opinion the SPS did not have contact with the people, but there would be money, so everything could be verified in the polling places. Prlja then said that there were strong parties like Seselj's that did not need money, that there were parties that said that the law was good, and that there were yet others who felt that it was too late to pass it.

"Obviously the SPS has made the most progress in preparing for the elections, but I think that everyone should make use of what the law offers," Prlja explained. Feeling challenged, Horvan took the floor again and said that he was pleasantly surprised that the SPS wanted to help the opposition parties, but that Serbia was not in a position to be able to finance parties, and that consequently this law was not appropriate. The deputy also added that the opposition did not have media, like the SPS and the SRS as well.

"Make that possible for us and you will no longer have such sterile discussions," the deputy said.

Aleksandar Bakocevic, the president of the Assembly, said in conclusion that no one doubted that each party would confirm its place and standing in the elections, and that the citizens were the ones who defined a party's standing, and also that the elections would verify how each party stood with the people.

The law was passed by a majority of votes, with five votes against, and 10 abstentions.

Yesterday the Serbian National Assembly discussed details of the draft law on secondary education.

An amendment was adopted that instead of part of the instructional plan and program, the instructional plan and program as a whole could be conducted in a foreign language, with the consent of the minister of education.

[Box, p 8]

The Soldiers Are Returning by 19 May

"It is being said more and more that there is a possibility that JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] members from Serbia will remain on the territory of the Serbian Krajinas in Croatia even after 15 May, because, allegedly, the Krajina authorities do not trust the UN forces," explained deputy Milorad Dostanic (SPS), who asked what the Serbian government would do to have Serbian soldiers return to their own territory by 15 May 1992, and thus protect them against the risk and possibility of remaining on foreign territory illegally.

The answer from the Defense Ministry, which reached the Assembly yesterday, says, "On the basis of a decision by the Yugoslav Presidency, on 27 April 1992, the headquarters of the Supreme Command prepared a plan for implementation of the FRY Constitution." That plan contains the transformation of the JNA into the army of the FRY, and its reduction to the territory and borders of the FRY, which also implies the redeployment of FRY citizens who are part of the JNA from the territories of other republics to the territory of the FRY and vice versa.

In accordance with this, the Yugoslav Presidency has adopted a decision that all soldiers who are FRY citizens, located in the crisis areas of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, are to return to the FRY by 19 May 1992, and soldiers from the Serbian Republic of Krajina will return several days after the deployment of UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] units, which are to be stationed in that area by 15 May at the latest, the answer says.

Vojvodina

Novi Sad Group of Fighters for Krajinas Formed

*AU2805114392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] A new section of fighters for the defense of Serbian Krajinas was constituted in Novi Sad yesterday. The section numbers 5,000 members.

Kosovo

Electoral Commission Announces Final Results

*AU2705175792 Tirana ATA in English
1040 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Tirana, May 27 (ATA)—In the press conference of the Election Commission of the Republic of Kosovo, Tadej Rodic, chairman, briefed the reporters on the final outcome of the elections for deputies to the Assembly and for the president of the Republic of Kosovo. Rodic said that the candidates of the Democratic League of Kosovo have won 96 seats, out of 100 seats at the parliament of Kosovo, independent candidates won two

seats, the Parliamentary Party of Kosovo has a seat, and the Party of Democratic Action for Kosovo has also a seat.

Tadej Rodic also briefed on results of the elections for the president of the Republic of Kosovo, where Dr. Ibrahim Rugova has won the absolute majority. In some polling centers he won 100 per cent of the votes. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Republic of Kosovo, was elected gathering 99.50 per cent of the votes of all the electors.

It is also informed that the next Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo will have at least 130 deputies. Now it is known to whom will 100 seats belong. In the meantime, 30 other seats are for the deputies of the members of nationalities living in Kosovo and the rest to those parties who gain 3 per cent of the votes.

Death Reported as Police Surround Pec Village

*AU2605142292 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1330 GMT 26 May 92*

[Text] It has been reported that large police forces surrounded the village of Leshan [Lasane] in Peje [Pec] Commune at 0500 this morning. The police behaved brutally against the population without any pretext, murdering the 26-year-old Tahir Lush Berisha and badly torturing Hysen Lukaj, whose life is still in danger.

Belgian Senator, Rights Campaigner Arrested

*LD2705141292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Serbian police have arrested Belgian Senator (Willy Pipers) and human rights champion Dr. Zekirija Cana. They were returning from Lasane near Pec where police killed an Albanian youth and where a Serbian policeman was also killed. The reasons for the arrest of the Belgian senator and Zekirija Cana have not yet been disclosed.

Rights Activist Critical of 'Third Yugoslavia'

*AU2005180392 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian
5 May 92 p 4*

[Article by Adem Demaci, chairman of the Pristina Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms: "A Mockery of History"]

[Text] The third Yugoslavia is a mockery of history, a mockery of its own people, or both.

The sextons of Belgrade have performed a miracle: They have resurrected Yugoslavia from the grave. However, can the corpse come to life again? They do not seem to want to admit reality, or perhaps they do not want to believe that there can be no more Yugoslavia, even after everything that has happened. Thus they erect a tower of dreams and illusions about themselves that will be quickly brought down. Without asking the Albanian, Bosnian, or Hungarian peoples, they have announced a

new creation, a new prison for the peoples at a time when prisons are being turned into museums. Without weighing this new creation in the scales of history, they have christened it nothing less than Yugoslavia.

For those inclined to humor, even of the black kind, the Serbian language, like all others, supplies plenty of names to make you laugh or weep. You can cobble together a joint name from Crna Gora [Montenegro] and Srbija, such as Crna Srbija [black Serbia] or Gora Srbija [worse Serbia]. However, this new creature is no joke, not even a grim one. A creature has emerged on the Balkan stage that will cause headaches for everybody, first for its own people, the Serbs, and then for the Albanians, the Hungarians, the Bosnians, and perhaps even the Montenegrins, because these latter will bid farewell to Serbia at the first reversal. Italy is withdrawing its capital. The West is withdrawing technology. Serbia has nothing but promises, poverty, bloodshed, and inflation. It is not hard to see where poor and rich Montenegro will run to.

Today and tomorrow, Serbia and the Serbs will have the greatest headaches with the ever-lively Albanians. The Serbs can no longer swallow the Albanians, because they themselves are now small. [Reference to Stalin's advice that Yugoslavia should "swallow" Albania, recorded by Milovan Djilas] They are no longer the 22 million they used to reckon themselves to be, as if they had all the inhabitants of former Yugoslavia on their side. The Serbs can no longer assimilate the Albanians, because the latter's national consciousness has now risen to such an extent that only physical extermination can annihilate them. The Serbs do indeed have weapons, collected for half a century with the money of both the East and the West, but the Albanians are motivated in such a way that no weaponry can defeat them: They have their just and mature policies that repulse aggressors, however well-armed they may be. They have the support of the world, that is sated with unjust wars and the blood of the oppressed. Meanwhile, Serbia is blockaded by the world and is burdened by unrealizable and anachronistic hegemonistic and colonial aspirations. The Albanians have joined the mainstream of the progressive and democratic world, the world of a humane society. Nobody can stop this current. Such obstacles like Serbia merely redouble its force.

The most recent act of the Serbian hegemonists has given the Albanians an opportunity for sure victory, of course if they set aside the illusion that someone else will hand them freedom on a plate, and on the condition that they organize their parties not on the obsolete bureaucratic model but on democratic principles that aim first of all at quality and liberty, not political careers, sinecures, stereotypes, and formulas.

The death throes of Greater Serbian national chauvinism began with the Constitution of 27 April 1992. These death throes will cause problems for the Albanians, but the Albanians are inured to problems, unlike

the Serbian people, who were privileged by the system. Now that it will be forced to pay its own way and will be confronted by domestic quarrels between the privileged and the discontented, Serbia will not find it easy. It will find the going tough and will be obliged to suppress unrealistic and unhistorical appetites.

The Albanian people are accustomed to endurance, and have endured a great deal. The Serbian people, unused to such difficulties, will be unable to endure. They are now threatened by decimation in quixotic wars, hunger from economic wretchedness, destitution from self-isolation, and the life of a ghetto. Of course, the Albanians must not expect to be rescued from these woes, which the Serbs have selected for themselves.

The Albanians must not in any way abandon their political, democratic, and peaceful tools, but they must face the storm and never turn their backs on it. Thus our political, democratic, and peaceful means will activate and lead toward victory not only for the Albanians but the Serbs, the Balkans, and Europe.

New York, 29 April 1992.

Montenegro

Presidency Favors Protection of Ethnic Rights

LD2705200192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Podgorica, 27 May (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Presidency has today ordered republican bodies to prevent most resolutely incidents that may be caused by individuals and groups advocating extreme national and political stands. In order to secure peace in the republic, the Presidency demands a coordinated action of military and police security bodies in order to prevent the uncontrolled use of firearms.

These conclusions and orders were made at today's session of the Montenegrin Presidency, which was held in expanded composition. The session discussed the realization of and pace with which the plan on defense activities in the Republic of Montenegro is implemented, specifically with a view to the protection of borders. Special attention was given to an analysis of the political situation in multi-ethnic environments in the republic.

The session, which was chaired by Momir Bulatovic and attended—apart from Presidency members—by the Assembly speaker, the defense minister, the internal affairs minister, and the commander of the territorial defense headquarters, noted that an essential precondition for overcoming cold interethnic relations is to continue political dialogue. Solutions should be sought that will enable the exercise and protection of equal rights of all citizens of the Republic of Montenegro, the statement says.

The Montenegrin Presidency, as stressed, has raised several concrete questions in connection with the transformation and role of the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. These issues, as stated, were sent to the Yugoslav Presidency, that is, the Supreme Defense Council of Yugoslavia.

Macedonia

Belgrade, Izetbegovic 'Cautioned' By Kozyrev

LD2705202992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Skopje, 27 May (TANJUG)—Today's events in Sarajevo clearly demonstrate that the cease-fire we agreed on yesterday has not been observed, Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev said prior to his departure from Skopje, regarding today's massacre in Sarajevo.

A cease-fire agreed with Russia as a big power must be complied with, he stressed. This applies to the same extent to Belgrade and to President Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo. Russia helped by offering its friendly advice, but if its well-intentioned advice is not honored it will start speaking a different language, Andrey Kozyrev cautioned.

Motives for Introducing National Currency Viewed

92BA0925D Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 May 92 p 14

[Article by V. Grlickov: "Restrictions With the New Money"]

[Text] Macedonia's monetary independence and the adoption of the national currency, the denar, were carried out, according to public assessments, without hurting one another either in the regions of the Yugoslav dinar system that Macedonia is leaving or in its own space, where there are potential dangers of a severing of trade and financial ties because of the adoption of the denar. Both in the National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBj] and in the National Bank of Macedonia [NBm] they say that adoption of the Macedonian denar was done properly, without deception: The Macedonian side first informed the NBj and then it fixed the date for adopting the national currency, opening up the possibility for the National Bank of Yugoslavia to monitor the procedure of replacement of Yugoslav dinars in Macedonia; the possibility of speculative (inflationary) use of the Yugoslav dinars made available in Macedonia was eliminated, and their transfer was guaranteed so that the NBj could destroy them in part or altogether. At the same time, the agreement was that the Yugoslav (Serbian) side would not block trade relations and settlements with Macedonia (the forms of payment were spelled out).

The motives for adoption of the Macedonian denar were political in nature, because this is a symbol of Macedonia's statehood, and the final decision was made

under the influence of what are referred to as external factors. That is, the extensive monetary expansion of Yugoslav dinars in the recent past (related above all to financing the budget, the army, the Serbian krajinas, and republics) and the hyperinflation that is coming from those regions helped to swing the pendulum in Macedonia toward monetary separation; accompanied by the assertion that this is the best choice, as proven by the example of Slovenia, because in that state, which became monetarily independent earlier, inflation has been reduced to 15 percent a month, while in Macedonia, bound to the Yugoslav dinar, inflation over the same time reached 50 percent.

It is interesting in all of this that there was an intensified interest noted and manifested in obtaining as many of the new denars as possible. The inflow of Yugoslav dinars from other regions increased, probably in order to use them for purchases, above all of foreign currency on black markets, before this money is finally abolished in Macedonia. But the Macedonian monetary authorities, saying that these operations were speculative, restricted the substitution of dinars for denars to 20,000 (instead of 50,000). In any case, the public statement was made that total stocks of printed denars amount to 20 billion, of which about 18.5 billion were to be in circulation, which is quite a bit more than the originally estimated amount (between 11 and 13 billion) necessary to replace the Yugoslav dinars that were there.

In any case, the Yugoslav dinars exchanged will be returned to the National Bank of Yugoslavia, and even here they announced that they will be destroyed, but not in their entirety, which clearly suggests that the cash withdrawn from Macedonia may again be put into circulation here (there is a growing need for cash in the Yugoslav dinar area).

From Macedonia's standpoint, the dinars returned (11 to 13 billion) to the National Bank of Yugoslavia will represent a portion of the division of assets with the former NBJ. The NBJ will still have a debt toward

Macedonia, for example, on the basis of legal reserves and perhaps also foreign exchange reserves (which are kept in an account in the NBJ) and which could, according to Borko Stanoevski, governor of the NBM, be settled (even) in foreign currencies through the continued payment of Macedonia's foreign debt.

As for the foreign debt and servicing it, the situation in Macedonia is serious. Just like everywhere else, foreign exchange savings, which amount to something more than \$1 billion, cannot be regularly serviced. By decision of the Macedonian government and Assembly, then, savings were reprogrammed in such a way that they were turned into bonds of the NBM in the name of the republic. The first maturity date is 3 June 1994 (the bonds are being paid off in 20 semiannual installments). What is more, the previous savings books are being canceled. If the bonds (savings) are used earlier, this can only be for the purchase, rental, or construction of housing, the purchase of equipment, or investment in enterprise stock.

The estimate is that about 100 million German marks [DM] (20 billion denars) will be needed for those purposes, and the banks will be required to pay for savings at their own expense at the rate of DM150 a year (DM500 twice a year beginning next year). Of course, the money has to be found in the Macedonian budget even for these rescheduled and limited obligations, and the budget in turn ought not to be expanded if they intend to stick with the anti-inflation program which the Macedonian government and Assembly have just adopted.

As for the foreign debt, there will be a problem if it falls exclusively on Macedonia, because it does not have sufficient reserves of foreign exchange. Foreign support in the amount of \$200 million is expected. However, the current deficit in the balance of payments amounts to between \$250 and \$300 million. Of course, larger foreign exchange reserves (which are to be "created" through exports) must also be used to support the new national currency, which now has to gain the status of an international currency.